



THE MUSICAL QUARTERLY

PERCY GRAINGER, COSMOPOLITAN COMPOSER

By CHARLES W. HUGHES

PERCY GRAINGER'S music has little resemblance to that of other contemporary composers because he himself, as a thinking, feeling, and music-loving man, differs greatly from most present-day music-makers. He has sought out and been stirred by influences that have had little effect on most of his contemporaries. Music of the remote past, music of Eastern races, the songs and dances of the English countryside, the music of Bach, have all had their part in forming his personality as an artist. On the one hand, he is keenly interested in music of the XIIIth and XIVth centuries; on the other, he follows contemporary trends with the closest attention. I suppose that few musicians are quite so unconcerned with mere up-to-dateness; yet his harmonic web is often pungent, vivid, modern. In an age that has learned to shun frank emotion for irony and burlesque, no composer is so willing to speak frankly, directly. He has a vein of sentiment that is wistful, popular, and somewhat melancholy. He alone is capable of reproducing the happy good-will and tireless physical merriment of the country dance. His music is to an unusual degree the record of his feelings and enthusiasms as a vital artist. His works might well serve as a wordless biography.

Most contemporary composers of radical tendencies do not concern

themselves with the limitations of their interpreters. The performer they have in mind is the virtuoso for whom difficulties do not exist. As a natural result, the average player can make little out of their music and leaves it severely alone. Grainger has described his attitude towards music-makers as "Australian." A democratic man himself, he has wished for music that would also be democratic, music that could be played with satisfaction even by mediocre players. He has had in mind performers with more music in their hearts than in their fingers. He can relish a performance some degrees removed from perfection, if an honest delight in the task at hand is apparent. This is not to say that his is easy music—the piano parts often remind us that Grainger is an accomplished pianist. It does mean that his scores (particularly those of recent date) are practical scores, adaptable to the varied demands of amateur and school groups. Grainger, who likes to invent phrases as well as tunes, has called this "elastic scoring." The best grouping of these works, and indeed one which the composer himself has followed to a large extent, is a geographical one, and may be explained by a brief review of some of his wanderings over the earth.

Australia is Grainger's country of birth. It is associated in his mind with early impressions of the songs of Stephen Foster—popular there—, with the sound of church-bells, and with fancies about the wonderful music that might be woven of such sound. Out of his Australian experiences grew his belief in musical democracy. Associated with Australia, his land of birth, and with the United States, his land of adoption, is a certain musical mood which Grainger has called the "inactive sentimental wistfulness that we find so touchingly expressed in much American art," a mood that appears in his "Colonial Song," in parts of "In a Nutshell," and in "Spoon River," a mood akin to that of many of the songs of Stephen Foster. Australia supplied the mental and emotional climate in which Grainger grew up and from which came some of his characteristic musical moods. The folk-songs and -dances which form the basis of many of his most characteristic compositions have other sources—the English countryside and that of the Northern lands.

Probably few people who love the beauties of English folk music realize by how narrow a margin much of it was saved from forgetfulness. The writer in the "Musical Times" who argued that the English were not a really musical people and that they had no significant folk-songs of their own was not a solitary skeptic. Fortunately, others were

more sensitive, and the last harvesting of English folk-song was accomplished by a small but devoted group of workers who made a somewhat reluctant England realize the richness and beauty of her musical heritage. Cecil Sharp was the greatest collector of songs and the most assiduous organizer of groups for dancing and singing, but Grainger, a collector of folk-songs himself, found a way to gain the great concert audience for English folk-song. Indeed, the enormous popularity of such compositions as "Country Gardens," "Shepherd's Hey," and the contrasting settings of Irish melodies, "Air from County Derry," and "Molly on the Shore," is at once a tribute to the skill of the arranger and the vitality of the tunes. Particular mention must be made of "Green Bushes," a fine modal tune set as a passacaglia, graver and more restrained than some of the other settings.

Not only are living folk melodies transplanted to Grainger's scores, but some of those preserved in old manuscripts are drawn on by way of Chappell's "English Popular Music." Chappell, who worked in a day when folk-songs were still sung all over the English countryside, did not collect folk-songs; but he did a splendid work in collecting and publishing hundreds of vigorous popular tunes from old printed books and from manuscripts. I am particularly fond of Grainger's setting of "The Willow Song," drawn from this source, with its unusual string foursome (violin, viola, and two cellos, or optionally the usual string quartet) and a dainty accompanying part for harp or guitar. Another work based on a tune from the same volume is Grainger's ramble or free prelude on "My Robin is to the Greenwood gone."

To most people Grainger's relationship to Norway and Denmark is associated with Edvard Grieg. Not so many are aware of his great interest in the folk music of Denmark, his love for the choral ballads of the Faroe Islands. Grainger's feeling for Grieg was and is one of love and admiration, but his ideas of folk-song arrangement had already borne fruit before he met Grieg—indeed before he was acquainted with Grieg's folk arrangements. Nor was their relationship that of teacher and pupil, as has been stated. It was Herman Sandby who acted as intermediary. Sandby and Grainger were fellow-students at Frankfort, and it was there that he showed Grainger Grieg's Op. 66 (in 1899 or 1901-2). Later at Copenhagen (in 1903-4) he showed Grieg some of Grainger's folk-song settings. Grieg must have been deeply impressed because, when he came to London (1906), ill, spent, and avoiding visi-

tors, he still asked to see Grainger. They met, and the meeting was the beginning of their friendship. Grieg urged Grainger to visit him during the following summer. When this visit proved impossible, he wrote more urgently saying that he was very ill and that, if Grainger wished to see him alive, he must come. The visit finally took place in the summer of 1907, and during that summer they rehearsed Grieg's Piano Concerto, which Grainger was to play at the Leeds Festival. The relationship with Grieg was one firm tie with the Northland, but, long before, Grainger had established another bond through his love of the sagas.

Devotion to the heroic tales of the North was fostered by his reading the saga of "Grettir the Strong" and Freeman's "History of the Anglo-Saxon People," as a boy of nine or ten in Australia. It was in Australia, too, that he made music for the tale of the Viking ship, the "Long Serpent," in which Olav Trygvasson discovered the New World. Later in Germany he fed eagerly on the *Vatnsdaela Saga* and the Icelandic Sagas, and his love for northern folk-song came in large measure from his desire to find a musical counterpart for these heroic tales of the North.

His affection for northern songs and ballads took definite shape in settings of Danish folk-songs gathered in Jutland on expeditions with the Danish folklorist, Evald Tang Kristensen. Of these, there are four playable as a "Danish Folkmusic Suite": the melancholy and beautiful setting of "The Power of Love," the merry ballad tune "Lord Peter's Stable Boy," "The Nightingale and the Two Sisters," and "Jutish Medley." Here, too, should be mentioned the setting of a grim ballad from the Faroe Islands, "Father and Daughter," for five single voices, double chorus, and orchestra.



Grainger came to the United States a mature artist. I suspect he found here an atmosphere somewhat akin to that of Australia. Perhaps that is why he stayed with us. Surely, he found an abundance of orchestral performers to work with in high-school, college, professional, and amateur music groups of all kinds. A war-time stay at Governor's Island as a bandsman aided in developing an interest in reed instruments, which dated back to 1904-5. At that time Grainger had an arrangement whereby he borrowed a wind instrument each week from Boosey of London. The fruit of his studies may be seen in the reed parts



Percy Grainger Composing at his Bilhorn Reed Organ

March 18

net. A

(as like, want as 'ry)

P. delmon

Handwritten musical score for the song "Cae Eire, anail na hEire". The score is written on six staves, numbered 1 to 6. The key signature is one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is 4/4. The music is written in a cursive, handwritten style. The first staff (1) begins with the title "Cae Eire, anail na hEire" and a tempo marking "P dolce". The second staff (2) has a tempo marking "P". The third staff (3) has a tempo marking "P". The fourth staff (4) has a tempo marking "P". The fifth staff (5) has a tempo marking "P". The sixth staff (6) has a tempo marking "P". The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings like "p" (piano) and "f" (forte). The handwriting is fluid and expressive, typical of a composer's draft.

Handwritten musical score for six staves, numbered 1 to 6. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings like 'mf' and 'p'. The staves are arranged vertically, and the music is written in a cursive, handwritten style.

Handwritten musical score for "The Rose Tree". The score is written on six staves. The first four staves represent vocal parts: Soprano (S), Alto (A), Tenor (T), and Bass (B). The fifth and sixth staves represent the piano accompaniment (P). The music is in 4/4 time and G major. The piano part features a prominent bass line with octaves and chords. The vocal parts enter in the second measure. The score ends with a double bar line and repeat signs.

1 C. FAG.

IN WALKING - MEASURE

Handwritten musical score for "In walking measure". The score is written on a grand staff with a treble and bass clef. The tempo is marked "Allegro". The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The score is written in a cursive, handwritten style. The title "In walking measure" is written in a cursive script at the bottom left. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and bar lines. The handwriting is somewhat messy and includes some corrections.

In Walking - measure



N.B. The dividing of this piece into bars does not imply that the first beat of each, or any, bar shall require greater pulses or volume than the beats inside of the bar. The divisions are made only for the sake of facility in reading.

Page 1 of the manuscript of Percy Grainger's *Hill-Song No. 1* (dated March 16, 1901), showing the composer's predilection for rhythmic freedom

in "Hill Song No. 1," in the solo part for baritone oboe in "The Warriors,"¹ in the parts for saxophones in many works.

Grainger has said that he considers the music of America to be highly characteristic, indeed that it was largely through his sympathy with American music that he knew America. We, in turn, might say that there is a flavor in Grainger's music which, if not American in origin, is closely akin to our own musical nature. Grainger's admiration for Stephen Foster has found expression not only in his "Tribute to Foster," but elsewhere in his works ("Gumsucker's March," "Colonial Song"), while in "Spoon River" he has given a setting to a country-dance tune of our own West. I, personally, have always felt a certain kinship between such a work as "Spoon River" and some of the poems of Vachel Lindsay. There is the same vividness, the same devotion to the democracy of art, the same alteration between bursts of open rhythmic jollity and half regretful moods.

To complete our plotting of the countries of Grainger's choice we should have to turn to the East. Yet I am not sure that his keen interest in Eastern music and his enthusiasm for the gamelan orchestras and the other music-makers of the East have had a very decided influence on his compositions, though one must note exceptions like the "Zanzibar Boat Song" and the "Eastern Intermezzo." His "Arrival Platform Humlet" is Eastern in its almost complete avoidance of harmony as well as in its very characteristic melodic idiom. Grainger considers this piece Japanese in feeling and associates it with his visits to the Japanese bazaar at Melbourne as a boy of six. Eastern music and Eastern instruments—particularly those in the magnificent collection of Japanese instruments in the Ethnological Museum at Leyden which Grainger studied (1910-14 intermittently)—stimulated his love for "the tuneful instruments of percussion."

A favorite direction above woodwind parts in Grainger's scores is "very nasal." His love for a pungent tone from woodwind instruments is, at least in part, derived from Eastern memories—of Arabian oboe-players at the Paris Exposition of 1900, of Indian reed-players at the Coronation of George V—as well as of the skirling of Scotch bagpipers on visits to the Highlands. His delight in strong reedy tone-color is clearly discernible in the scoring of "Hill Song, No. 1." Such a work as his unpublished transcription for percussion, harmonium, and piano,

¹ Full score, measure 304.

of the Debussy *Pagodes*, shows him restoring a product of Eastern inspiration from a piano piece back into a composition for a quasi-oriental orchestra.

From the diverse musical lands alluded to, Percy Grainger has drawn inspiration. Yet, when the journey is completed, there are still compositions that are neither Australian nor English nor Danish.

The very great success attained by certain of his folk arrangements has obscured the fact that a very important class of Grainger's compositions owes nothing to folk melodies. This is true of his Australian suite, "In a Nutshell," which has been mentioned, and of the "English Dance" (for orchestra or two pianos, six hands). It is also true of the music to an imaginary ballet, "The Warriors," which he composed for a very large orchestra containing, as one choir, a large percussion and plucked-string group. This is intended to add another group or choir to the orchestra, "able to hold its own in tonal strength with any one of the other orchestral groups." There is the wedding hymn, "To a Nordic Princess," written as a tribute to his wife, Ella Grainger. There is the "Marching Song of Democracy" for orchestra and chorus (also for chamber orchestra and chorus) which Grainger regards as perhaps his finest work from the point of view of beauty of sound. There is the jolly "Handel in the Strand" for piano with two or three strings or string orchestra, with its ring of the music hall, a ring which is echoed by the movement entitled "Gay but Wistful" from "In a Nutshell." There is the "Walking Tune," strongly Celtic in feeling, the "Mock-Morris" which, as the title might lead one to expect, is delightfully folk-like, even though it contains no actual folk-song.



When such a summary of Grainger's compositions is completed, certain general conclusions emerge. A complete avoidance of such forms as the sonata or rondo is evident. Dance tunes tend to be set in a personal type of variation. Grainger, in writing about his setting of "Green Bushes," has pointed out that it is a passacaglia rather than a set of variations in the classic sense. In other words, the tune tends to continue unchanged, while its musical environment changes, with fresh countermelodies, new harmonic turns, and varied instrumentation. Such forms have been criticized as monotonous. Grainger has his own answer for that. He says, "In setting such dance folk-songs (indeed, in setting

all dance music) I feel that the unbroken and somewhat monotonous keeping-on-ness of the original should be preserved above all else."

Grainger has experimented, in addition, with a very free type of construction—with themes passing into other themes without the recurrence that is the keystone of all classic form. In speaking of his "Marching Song of Democracy," he expressed the principle underlying such compositions by saying that "music should be organic rather than architectural"; it should unfold, guided by the flow of the musical idea rather than by the outline of a pre-existent form.

The directions in most composers' scores speak a very proper Italian or German. In Grainger's, they speak English in such a characteristic fashion that to read one of his scores is almost to see and hear him conduct a rehearsal. The pages are crowded with expostulations and warnings. Occasionally a comment that cannot be put anywhere else flies out into the margin, where it is surrounded by one of those balloon-shaped enclosures familiar to the comic strip. He loves to invent his own names—"hammerwood" for "xylophone," "middle fiddle" for "viola." He prefaces the scores by analyses, by extended program notes, by essays. Grainger likes to point out that he expects his music to make its effect through the saliency of the part-writing. For him, the interval is the basic fact, tone color a secondary consideration. As a result, he has been led to the system of elastic scoring, which is the subject of a later paragraph. Yet he shows, paradoxically enough, a marked feeling for tone color. It is true that his compositions often admit of many different instrumental color-schemes. Most of them, in fact, exist in several versions, and the later scores are specially constructed to allow the conductor considerable freedom in his choice of instruments. Nevertheless, the strong double-reed color of "Hill Song, No. 1," the answering of bells and marimbas by trumpet and woodwind tone in "The Gum-sucker's March,"² the use of saxophones above and below piano and woodwind chords in "Green Bushes,"³ all testify eloquently to Grainger's skill in producing instrumental effects devised for their own sake.

Another characteristic of the Grainger orchestra is his frequent use of piano, organ, and harmonium as regular members of the orchestra. The piano is not merely a visiting soloist, as in the classic concerto, but an integral part of the orchestra. It may play the melody while the

² Full score, measure 65.

³ Full score, upbeat to measure 234.

upper strings play animated figurations, as in the next to the last section of "Lord Peter's Stable Boy."⁴ It may be called on to supply the complete harmonic background. Or two pianos, supplemented by any available orchestral forces, may provide the essential strands of a composition.

The harmonium, as already inferred, is also a great favorite in the Grainger scores. Often it alone supplies the harmonic background, with a woodwind or string solo floating above it. In quiet passages it may take the solo, playing a simple melody,⁵ or it may supplement or replace the piano in a lusty chordal solo. Grainger's enthusiasm for the instrument carries him so far as to say, "If I were forced to choose one instrument only for chamber music . . . I would choose the harmonium without hesitation, for it seems to me the most sensitively and intimately expressive of all instruments." His use of piano and harmonium as background instruments is a modern application of the principle behind Bach's use of keyboard instruments to fill in a figured bass or *continuo*. The XIXth century had banished the piano except as "visiting soloist" in the piano concerto. Grainger's scores restore it to the orchestra to furnish harmonic background or to take a more active part in stating melodic material.

Percy Grainger has been the apostle of popular instruments—saxophone, guitar, ukelele, concertina, marimba, metal marimba—as well as of the piano and harmonium. He believes that their popularity, their suitability to everyday music-making should suffice to secure them a trial in the orchestra. He has given practical application to his belief by assigning them places in his scores. The concertina enters at the final *forte* of the room-music version of "Shepherd's Hey," to reinforce the steady strumming of the orchestra.⁶ A mandolin and guitar band, playing chords across the strings, takes part in the last pages of "Father and Daughter,"⁷ and a ukelele part is printed, though it does not appear in the full score. The most complete ensemble of this kind, however, is in one of the settings of "Shallow Brown," the one that calls for two mandolins, two mandolas, two ukeleles, and four guitars. Marimbas and metal marimba parts may be found in most of the larger works, while saxophones are the preferred alternatives for other instruments

⁴ Compressed score, measure 108.

⁵ "Green Bushes," full score, upbeat to measure 426.

⁶ Score, beginning measure 81.

⁷ The band enters at measure 127 of the full score.

in "Hill Song, No. 1" and "Green Bushes" and are optional in practically all the works for elastic scoring.

The idea of elastic scoring had its roots in some of the practices employed in theatre orchestra scoring. The average theatre orchestra is (or rather, was) a small ensemble of musicians. The piano furnished the harmonic background. Middle strings were frequently absent, and an elaborate system of cueing made essential melodic lines available to several instruments other than the one for which the tune was originally written. Such a method was well suited to the simple music, melody and oom-pah accompaniment, that was usually played. A wide experience in conducting groups of all sizes and degrees of efficiency gave Grainger the incentive to develop a system of flexible scoring that would accommodate itself to groups of various sizes. The cardinal principle of this system has been that the balance between the parts must be good (tone color has been secondary), and that to this end almost any well-sounding group of instruments may be added to a stated basic group. This essential group may consist of a piano ensemble, or of violin, 'cello, harmonium, and piano, as in "Lord Peter's Stable Boy." Cueing is extensively practised, and a large number of allowable substitutions and augmentations are suggested. Thus, a harmonium may substitute for missing woodwind or a saxophone for French horn, bassoon, or trumpet, while third violins may reinforce weak viola sections and the like, or a piano may reinforce the usually weak basses of school orchestras.

Grainger's love for large and unusual chamber-music ensembles and his demands for popular instruments (marimbas, saxophones and the like) have brought him closer to the great body of performing musicians and further from the symphony orchestra as now constituted. This fact has undoubtedly limited the performance of some of his works. One may perhaps sympathize with a conductor who is asked to produce six English horns (as in the early version of the "Hill Song, No. 1"); but one must at the same time recognize that the standardization of the great symphony orchestras, the limited rehearsal periods, and the tendency towards a narrowing routine have acted as a barrier to all works that do not conform to a standard instrumentation.

Grainger's scores are important to us because they are the expression of a vital musical personality. They are lively, expansive, adventurous, plaintive, sentimental. At times, they speak out simply; at others, they are charged with free and shifting colors. At times (as in "Green

Bushes"), they take on the color of the old modal scales with their air of remote antiquity; at others, they are daringly chromatic. Instead of serving one fixed type of instrumental group they offer chamber players, and larger groups as well, the opportunity to experiment, to make music with the most varied resources.

To some it might seem strange that Grainger's devotion to folk music (the heritage of a period that is passing, that, indeed, has already passed almost everywhere) should be combined with a lively interest in modern music and keen speculation concerning what kind of music lies beyond, just over the horizon. To me the two seem the complementary halves of one thought. After all, folk-song represented the day-by-day musical fare of the folk of village and farm through unmeasured generations. Their life may have passed, but the music that was part of it has been saved in large measure to delight us. Now it is for us to find a simple and joyful group expression in music for our own time and for the future, not merely for the highly skilled but for all who play and sing with pleasure. And to such an end the music of Percy Grainger has contributed much.

THE DUAL PERSONALITY OF GREAT COMPOSERS

By MARGIT VARRO

EVERY MUSIC-LOVER carries in his mind idealized or inner pictures of the great composers and their music. Though the pictures, for the most part, are of purely emotional origin and therefore difficult to set down in words, each one is so characteristic that it will never be confused with any other. In answer to the question—How does such an inward portrait come into being?—we can only say that it is a precipitate, so to speak, of countless impressions gathered from musical experiences and memories, from biography and anecdote, from enjoyment, study, admiration, and criticism. We shall here try to outline somewhat more clearly before our mind's eye this picture of which we are keenly enough aware, but which is often rather hazy to our vision.

Let us try, then, to cast some light upon it from the other side by observing the parallelisms and contradictions that appear in the great composer when we examine more closely his dual existence, his personality as it appears in real life and in his art.

Brahms once said on this point that "one cannot and should not separate the artist from the man." With this warning in mind we shall avoid petty analyses and try rather to keep ourselves aware of how such a personality—seen on the one hand through its music and on the other through its life-story—is reflected in ourselves. We may, of course, pursue such an investigation only within a reach of time which makes it possible for us to consult not only musical compositions, but letters also, diaries, comments of contemporaries, biographies—in a word, human documents of every sort.

The first great composers concerning whom we have sufficient material are Bach and Handel. Both born in the last third of the XVIIth century, both children of the same nation and the same social stratum, both fulfilling and perfecting the same style-tendencies based on the same technical traditions—yet behold them, two totally different artistic types!

In Handel, life and work were cast in one mold, both active and full of dramatic excitement. His personal appearance was powerful and resplendent, like his music. One need but glance at his characteristic, dignifiedly self-conscious carriage, as revealed in his well-known be-wigged and lace-trimmed portrait, and then listen to the characteristic, dignified procedure of one of his instrumental pieces, and one senses at once the congruence of the two impressions. His bearing and his disposition, his personal style and the style of his music, are so much one that we may even go so far as to say that whoever knows Handel the *composer* thoroughly may from his works alone acquire an approximately correct picture of his whole personality and way of life; and *vice versa*, anyone who knows Handel the *man* thoroughly—his actual life as recorded in pictures, biographies, documents of the time, and so forth—may from this knowledge conclude with little error what is the character of his art.

With Bach the situation is entirely different. If we observe his life's course—model of the simple, well-regulated existence of a hard-working, worthy, deeply religious middle-class citizen—and compare with it his creative production—a musical world in itself, created as though for eternity, obeying its own laws even to the most elemental outbursts (the G minor Organ Fantasia)—then his two lives, the real and the artistic, seem to have been lived on different planes that scarcely came in contact with one another. If this impression does not hold in every detail (it was, after all, the same Bach who lived his simple life and wrote his magnificent works!), yet this much is sure: that all the big—certainly all the biggest—things that happened in his life happened not on the plane of reality, but in the visions of his imagination and in their creative fulfilment. For this reason we can wholly know the character of the man Bach only through his music. The contrary possibility is here excluded, for what we may learn about him through his pictures and letters, biographies and contemporary documents, adds but little and only by inessentials to the plastic portrait his music conveys to us of the whole personality we think of as "Bach."

If, from this point of view, we contrast Bach and Handel, the two greatest composers of their time, it becomes still more clearly apparent what it is that makes them such diametrically opposite artistic types. Handel, man of the world and writer of oratorios, bankrupt theatre director and friend of kings, the man who ruled his orchestra with an

iron hand and shed tears of emotion at the composing of a touching passage, went about his life as he did about his work, in the limelight of public interest. Over both, light and shadow are about equally distributed. Both are imposing, rich and grand, but about both there clings something of theatrical emotion, a trait which led Mozart to say: "Handel knows better than any of us what makes a big effect. Where he wants one, he bursts in like a thunderstorm."

With Bach, all the light in his life seems to radiate from his work. His private life lies, as it were, in the shadow of his monumental art. Grandiose traits it has none. Quietly and evenly it flows along, towered over by the majesty of his creations.

These brief indications will perhaps suffice to show the fundamental differences between these two types of artist, so that, in what follows, we may refer to the *Handel type* (in which art and life are on an equal plane) and the *Bach type* (in which art overshadows life). Into these two types almost all the subsequent great composers may—*cum grano salis*, but without doing violence to any—be classified.

Closest to the Handel type, perhaps, comes Gluck, whose life and work are equally full of experiment and of dramatic changes of scene. His rise to mastery is entirely congruent with his development as a man. Success and social importance, too, keep the same pace.

Among later generations, Mendelssohn reveals the most striking parallel, his life flowing as smoothly and pleasantly as his music—to the advantage of his life, perhaps, but certainly rather to the disadvantage of his art. The same cultured taste and elegance, the same intellectual equal-temperament, which made him such an amiable person, dampen the fire of his musical invention and lessen its power to impress itself.

Schumann, Chopin, and Liszt are the true romantic representatives of the Handel type. In Schumann the correspondence between the nature of his life and his art is clearly recognizable. In both he is Schumann, "the eternal youth," impetuous and contemplative, fiery and tender. Despite his "dual nature," which he himself admits and in his writings symbolizes through the names of Florestan and Eusebius, he is, at least in his music, a thoroughly harmonious personality.

In Chopin this congruence between the man and the artist is again so great that, as with Handel, one may know from his portraits what kind of music he wrote and from his music what kind of man he was. But though his life is permeated with the same intense sensibility as

his music, driven by the same nervous strength, perfumed with the same romantic *morbidezza*, the personality of Chopin the musician outweighs that of Chopin the man.

With Liszt the contrary is rather the case. Equally as masterful, many-sided and intensive in his life as in his music, the noble personality that was the man Liszt seems to reach beyond Liszt the composer. This may come from the fact that a certain bias towards the brilliant and the decorative is less noticeable in his living (which itself approaches a work of art) than in many of his compositions, which represent, as it were, the earthly ballast of the "Liszt idea." Liszt is one of those great men whom we must know from all angles in order rightly to value them. To think of him only as a dazzling piano virtuoso and composer may easily give a false picture. His significance as an artist, pointing a way towards the future, first convincingly made itself felt in his orchestral compositions (the "Faust" Symphony, the masses, the symphonic poems), and many a musician has found his way to these works only through acquaintance with the wonderful personality of the man as it appears in his actions and his letters.

Now let us turn to examples of the Bach type, taking here, too, as in the foregoing, only certain very distinct personalities whose music we may assume to be generally known.

Nearest in point of time is Haydn, with his life-work of over a thousand compositions. The disparity between his real life and his life in his music is much greater even than in Bach. "Papa" Haydn having occupied until almost his last days a humble social position, his life, aside from his musical abilities and education, is not very interesting, all the values and originalities of his nature being concentrated in his work; and even more exclusively than with Bach, who was after all, as a pianist and organist, one of the most famous performing artists of his time. But though the princely livery he wore for decades may have faded on Kappellmeister Haydn's hard-working back, the musical genius in him remained untainted by any touch of servility. The best proof of this lies in the proud words of the mature master: "Art is free and must never be limited by any shackles of technique. And I consider myself entitled as well as another to lay down laws in this. (*Die Kunst ist frei und soll von keiner Handwerksfessel beschränkt werden. Und ich halte mich befugt wie irgend einer, hierin Gesetze zu geben.*)" These words remind us also that in Haydn's case (as in many another's)

the relative unimportance of the outer life is of little significance for later generations over against the importance of the composer's inner life and its positive realization in his music.

Passing over for the moment both Mozart and Beethoven, to whom we shall return presently, we find Schubert again clearly fitting into the Bach type. His guilelessly quiet existence, familiar to only a few friends, and led in constant contact with his muse and with material cares, provides a remarkably modest, unpretentious, even drab background to his colorful life, glowing with passion and temperament, in music. Only the atmosphere of intimate sincerity and of Viennese *Gemütlichkeit* that surrounded him and that radiates from his music, bridges the two spheres of his life. It is Schubert's warm-heartedness, as in Bach it is deep religiousness, that fundamentally links the two spheres together.

When we come to consider more recent figures, Bruckner presents an example of the Bach type in so exaggerated a form that the contrast between his life and his work amounts practically to a splitting of his personality. In monkish seclusion, childishly naïve, almost simple, we see the ungainly little man dwarfed by his colossal orchestral, organ, and choral compositions. He wrote hardly anything for the smaller combinations. Full-blooded romantic that he was in his music, his creative fancy was able to express itself only in over-sized, frame-bursting forms, while he, although indulging in exaggerated sound-effects, remained all his life the shy, submissive village schoolmaster he had been in his youth. How true it is that music meant to him the only full and satisfying expression of his personality, we see from the touching words he addressed to the Rector of the University of Vienna when receiving the degree of *doctor honoris causa*: "I cannot thank you as I should like to do; if there were only an organ here—I should be able to tell you! (*So wie ich möchte, kann ich Ihnen nicht danken; wäre nur eine Orgel da,—ich würde es Ihnen schon sagen!*)"

César Franck, also an organist and teacher of composition, combines certain traits of both types. He belongs to the Bach type because his life undoubtedly lay predominantly—for himself too—in his creative work; his most significant experiences are of a musical sort. But he recalls the Handel type—this "*pater seraphicus*" of modern music—in the complete congruence of his outer and inner person: his facial expression in the portrait of him at the organ radiates the same trans-

figured, gentle goodness and dignity as his music. Knowing his human habitude, we are prepared to swear that in music, too, everything over-loud, or vulgar, or savoring of the grand gesture, is repugnant to him. "I have no need to know what Wagner did (*Je n'ai pas besoin de savoir ce que faisait Wagner*)," he said, withdrawing into his ivory tower.

If there is little doubt in which categories Bruckner and Franck belong, Brahms, on the contrary, offers a problem. His personality shows no such split between the man and the composer as does Bruckner's. The split in Brahms's runs through both his life and his art. He did not succeed—as Schumann did before him—in amalgamating the opposite tendencies of his nature in his music. The contradictions were too great. On the one hand his own individuality, *i.e.*, his genuinely romantic, fiery, expansive artists's soul; on the other, his inheritance, *i.e.*, the reserved, disciplined nature of the typical North German, ill-disposed towards any sort of excess. Now the one dominated, now the other. Hence the unevenness, the brittleness in some of his music, where a gray northern mist suddenly descends on some romantically flowering passage, or a dry spot succeeds a soaring flight, almost as though his cooler nature sought to check the free swing of the romantic in him. Hence, too, the bashfulness with which he hid his deepest feelings from himself and others in his life—when, indeed, he did not clothe them in irony. "Brahms is always running away from the best in his nature," says one of his most famous biographers, "but to his own good fortune and ours it is always catching up with him."

Added to the innate tragedy of such a disposition, Brahms was really born too late for *his* particular talent. For he was related in spirit to the older German romantics, Schumann above all, who had in 1853 presented the twenty-year-old youth to the musical world as a newly rising star. But even at that time Wagner and his hotly discussed music-drama already preoccupied the general interest. It may well be that some connection existed between Brahms's attitude towards the Wagner-Liszt "new German" tendencies, to which he is well known to have been antipathetic, and the fact that in the course of his development the romantic in him withdrew more and more in favor of the classicist. Although he protested against the rôle assigned him by the critics, of "antipope to Richard Wagner," nevertheless the position thus thrust upon him in the battle, combined with the apparent anachronism in

his music, may have had the effect of bringing out the angles and edges of his personality more strongly than would otherwise have happened. However this may be, Brahms stands before us, despite unsolved conflicts in his life and in his work, as a thoroughly unified personality: his life, with its rather brusque reserve, clean and unaffected as his music; his art, containing nothing to contradict Brahms the man. In this respect he is the diametric opposite of Wagner.

Comparing Wagner's creative achievement with his personality as a man, we feel a sense of disappointment. The man and his art seem totally incongruous; and that, furthermore, in the sense of being of unequal worth. It almost appears as though the illumined sides of his nature found expression in his creative activity, the shadowed sides in his life. Had Wagner been only a great talent and not the positive genius that he was, his gifts might well have "slipped away through many a loophole in his character." But in this very point we come upon a seldom observed qualitative difference between genius and talent. In the inner household of the genius alterations and conversions secretly take place; often what in the average man, even in the man of talent, would be set down as *minus*, will under certain conditions in the creative act of a genius bring about a result that must be reckoned on the *plus* side.

It is superfluous to look more closely here into the darker aspects of Wagner's personality: the changeableness of his disposition, the overheated theatrical temper that spreads through his private life where it often appears so insincere that we begin to suspect even his music, in its less inspired moments, of something like pose. But although—or better, just because—"the artist should not be separated from the man," we must be careful in our judgment of the genius. For so long as we cannot see into the inner mechanism and the determining processes of the individual's creative artistic act (and this not even genius itself can do), we cannot know whether Wagner, for example, was not obliged to be as he was in order to be able to create what he created.

Of the older composers, Lully most resembles the Wagner type; of the newer, perhaps Richard Strauss. Its exact opposite is Verdi, whose music is often robust, noisy, almost rough, while his letters and his private life reveal a noble character of almost hypersensitive delicacy of feeling.

It is apparent, from all that has been said, that the belonging to one

or other of our two artist types has very little to do with the time in which the composer in question may have lived. We need no special excuse, therefore, for bringing this brief essay to a close with a glimpse at the personalities, in their lives and in their music, of Mozart and Beethoven.

With Mozart, we are at once struck by the contrasting lines of his outer and his inner life. They run, to use a musical figure of speech, in contrary motion. Outwardly, the steady, terrible descent from the glory of the great world surrounding the successful, pampered *Wunderkind*; down through the sufferings of humiliating service with the Archbishop of Salzburg and those unremitting daily worries, crushing to a sensitive spirit; to the common grave of Vienna's paupers. Inwardly, an unprecedented, ceaseless rise of creative force which, early leaving behind the reproductive stage of its expression, flung upwards to the purest heights of musical art.

Beside this winged flight, Mozart's actual life seems like a modest counterpoint set beneath the triumphant melody of his creative powers. And to this extent he draws near to the Bach type. Yet the organic connection between life and work in Mozart is much more tangible. Hebbel's words apply to him: "the artist breathes out what the man breathes in." The events of his life—sorrows and joys, all sorts of emotional crises, melancholies, moods, and humors—all pass by us, elevated and inspired by his art, in the magic mirror of his music. Bach's music was rooted in the beyond, in the realms of faith; Mozart's grew out of the here and now, out of reality, with which it is linked by a thousand strands of his soul's web. Yet without earthly ponderance it hovers above his life.

Were it granted to the great man to shape his life as he shapes his works, no one could have enjoyed a life of more harmonious plenitude than Mozart. But as living and creatively working are two different things, and as Mozart lived, so to speak, heart and soul in his work, we may best learn to know and love him, as we do Bach, through his music. What more his correspondence and the story of his life may tell us that is touching or lovable, clever and roguish, only confirms from another angle the inward picture of Mozart that his music gives us, but adds nothing essential or indispensable to it.

Not so with Beethoven. His greatness is both humanly and musically determined, his work is inseparable from his personality, his creative evolution from his life history. In his general significance too—as he,

the individual, was more or less aware—human and artistic motives are equally important.

For Beethoven the man and Beethoven the composer represent to later generations two organically linked and equivalent embodiments of one and the same idea, an idea that may be approximately expressed by the slogan "through struggle to victory." Beethoven's art equally emphasizes striving and release. The ethical significance of both is the greater since no one but Beethoven has been able to sublimate both the individual and the mass into such total identification. And can the uplifting effect of this identification be ascribed to anything else than the power of conviction of the great *man* manifest in the great *composer* Beethoven?

If something in us did not at once rebel against classifying him under any one type of artist, we might to this extent reckon Beethoven among the "unified" Handel type of the man and the artist cast in one mold. But just as Beethoven's music is deeper, more inclusive, more complex, so also the relation between the various components of his nature in life and art is a more complicated one. Though the same fundamental characteristics underlie his personal and his artistic individuality, yet these often appear in his life and his art (as the graphologists would say) "under contrary omens." More accurately, in his art he is made toweringly great by the same characteristics from which in his life there arise, beside equally imposing qualities, all his little peculiarities. Thus, for example, the unbending purposefulness of his music often appears in his life as obstinacy; the terrific contrasts which give it its exciting intensity appear as sudden changes of mood and the well-known Beethoven "raptus"; the incomparable economy of construction even to the smallest detail, appears as exaggerated thrift, his creative impetus as lack of consideration, and so forth.

But enough! Such parallels should not be overdone. By and large the colossal figure of Beethoven stands almost as a marvel before us. For in all essential features his life does bear the same *positive* signs as his music. Through both pulse the same love of nature and of man, the same striving for truth and freedom, the same never-wearying endeavor towards complete fulfilment.

Few great composers measure up so evenly in both aspects of their personality; and yet, following a natural inclination, we are tempted again and again to seek in the artist as man the same ideal traits of

character that we find and love in his music. There is a certain naïveté in this, for the very complexity and manysidedness of most artists' natures argues against the assumption that all the distinctive characteristics of the genius are equally evident in his life and his work and should therefore be somehow identifiable. It is not a matter of critically comparing the "good-citizen's character" of the creative artist with the "ideal character" we find in his art, and of thus arriving at an estimate of his whole personality. Any such estimate would be not only petty but false as well. What makes the artist what he is, is after all the fact that he carries within him something he can express *only* in his work, something he can *fully live* only in the realm of art.

The instinctive, the creative, and the real self of the great artist are so closely interwoven, these planes of his life touch, intersect, even replace each other, in so many ways, that the observer is easily led astray. The hidden connections running between the two parts of the dual personality will, furthermore, undoubtedly remain forever inapproachable by rational analysis. And for anyone who undertakes to penetrate these connections through intuitive means, there is but one right point of departure: the recognition that the ethos of the artistic personality is most deeply rooted in its creative work and is therefore only to be properly understood and estimated from that source.

(Translated by M. D. Herter Norton)

ANTONIA BEMBO, COMPOSER TO LOUIS XIV

By YVONNE ROKSETH

THE BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE at Paris has recently acquired¹ an orchestral score to which attention has never before been drawn, a work by a musician herself very little known hitherto, the Venetian Antonia Bembo. It has seemed to us timely, therefore, to assemble some facts concerning this gifted composer, all of whose surviving manuscripts appear to have drifted into the great Parisian library.

Antonia probably belonged to the illustrious family that had provided Venice with a doge, and which was looked upon as among the noblest of the city. The Bembi were one of the twenty-four families that represented the "old houses"—the *case vecchie*—, established in the city before the year 800,² like the Contarini, the Cornari, the Dandoli, the Memmi, the Morosini, the Tiepoli, all of which gave one doge, or more, to the Serenissima Republica. Strangely enough, the Venetian archives³ preserve no trace of Antonia's existence. She never neglects, however, to mention, in the prefaces of her collections of music, that she is Venetian and a noblewoman. The name of Bembo is of interest to musicians not only because of Antonia but because the Cardinal Pietro maintained, from the close of the XVth century, an important musical establishment; had his verses set to music; and had consented to stand godfather, in 1523, to a boy who was to become one of the greatest organists of his time, Girolamo Cavazzoni.

Antonia may have been born in the city of St. Mark's about the time the great masters of Venetian opera had just died—Cesti in 1669, Cavalli in 1676. It seems impossible that she should not have come under the influence of Agostino Steffani (1654-1728), although he lived mainly in Germany; for there are few musicians with whose style hers offers more points of contact. And she perhaps received her instruction more or less directly from Legrenzi, *maestro di cappella* at St. Mark's and director of one of the Venetian conservatories, who died in 1690.

¹ At the generous initiative of its director, M. Julien Cain, it is at present endeavoring to develop further a music collection already magnificent but still insufficiently explored.

² Cigogna, *Delle iscrizioni veneziane*, Vol. IV, p. 495.

³ Signor de' Paoli, who has searched them, has been kind enough to advise me of the negative result.

When did Antonia go to France? We cannot say exactly when or how; the wherefore she lets us know herself in the preface of her first volume of collected works, dedicated to Louis XIV. She had followed to Paris a companion whose attentions had drawn her there. This must have been between 1690 and 1695. Her reputation as a singer reached the ears of the king, who asked to hear her. While Antonia, in her modesty—real or false—says nothing on the point, we may assume that the audition revealed to Louis XIV a talent worthy of his gracious attention. Meanwhile, Antonia's lover having abandoned her, the king awarded her, as he was accustomed to do with writers and artists he esteemed, a pension assuring the means of subsistence. Antonia found shelter at the Convent of Notre-Dame des Bonnes Nouvelles.

In this holy retreat, she recovered the faculty of thinking musically, which she had exercised in her childhood, and soon was able to offer the king a first collection of her own compositions. It is preserved in a handsomely bound volume bearing the arms of Louis XIV (Bibl. nat., Rés. Vm¹ 117). It is entitled *Produzioni Armoniche della Dama Bembo, nobile veneta, consacrate al nome immortale di Luigi XIII il grande, rè di Francia e di Navarra* ("Harmonic Productions of the Lady Bembo, Venetian noblewoman, dedicated to the immortal name of Louis XIV the great, king of France and of Navarre"). The preface gives us most of the biographical information we have concerning its author.

SIRE,

Quella fama immortale, che sino dall'infanzia mi stillò nel cuore il gloriosissimo Nome di Vostra Maestà; Quell'istessa m'indusse ad abandonar Patria, Parenti Et Amici per venire ad inchinarmi ad vn Monarca sì Eccelso. Giunsi à questa Real Corte, sono già più anni, dove per mia sorte, essendo stato rapresentato à Vostra Maestà, ch'io aueua qualche talento nel Canto, si compiacque di volermi sentire; E intendendomi abbandonata da chi mi trasse da Venezia, Vostra Maestà si degnò gratificarmi d'vna pensione, colla quale potessi trattenermi nella Comunità di Nostra Signora di Buone Nouelle; fino à tanto, que si presentasse occasione di mettermi in qualche altro luogo più distinto. Ora in questo santo ricouero procuratomi dalla magnificenza della Maestà Vostra, auendo io fatte alcune Composizioni in Musica, vengo à rassegnarle à suoi Reali piedi, come vn riuenterissimo tributo delle mie immense Obligazioni. La supplico Vmilissimamente di volerle gradire colla solita sua Reale benignità, e le fò profondissima riuerenza.

Di Vostra Maestà

Vmilissima et Obedientissima serua

Antonia Bembo⁴

⁴ "Sir,

That immortal fame which has inscribed the most glorious Name of Your Majesty within my heart since infancy; That very [fame] has induced me to abandon Fatherland, Parents and

If the terms of this dedication seem absurdly laudatory and almost servile, it must be remembered that such were the manners of the times. Another Italian, a Florentine poetess, Virginia Bazani Cavazzoni, printed, in 1700, a "Panegyric ode on the accession of Philip V to the throne of Spain" which she declared dedicated *alla sacra maestà di Luigi decimo quarto . . . massimo conquistatore, primogenito della Gloria e della Fortuna* ("to the sacred majesty of Louis XIV [grandfather of Philip V] . . . the greatest conqueror, first born of Glory and Fortune"). Still another Italian poetess, the comedian Aurelia Fedeli, had dedicated her *Risfuti di Pindo* to the king, in 1666, in terms also quite highflown. Let us recall, moreover, the dedications of Lully. Custom required these forms of adulation, and Louis, used to them, accepted the acts of homage as a matter of course. It did not displease him at all that the young ladies of Saint-Cyr should have at their disposal a whole collection of songs⁵ in his praise, songs which they doubtless held ready to sound forth whenever it took the king's fancy to go and visit them.

The fact that three pieces (nos. 13, 14, and 34), out of the forty that Antonia's collection contains, were written on the occasion of the marriage of the king's grandson, Louis, Duke of Burgundy, to Marie-Adelaide, the princess of Savoy, allows us to date the volume as coming from the last years of the century, since the wedding was celebrated December 7, 1697. But it is earlier than 1700, since one work (no. 36) is still dedicated in it to "Monsieur" (Philip), who in that year mounted the throne of Spain. The heir of the French crown, the dauphin Louis, who was generally called "Monseigneur," is the recipient of the dedication of no. 12, *O del celtico scettro chiaro et inclito erede* ("O, heir of the bright and noble Celtic sceptre") (p. 103). Eight pieces are destined for the king himself. Of these, one is a motet for the Feast of Saint Louis,

Friends to come and humble myself before so Illustrious a Monarch. It is already many years since I arrived at this Royal Court where, through my fate, the situation being represented to Your Majesty that I had some talent in song, You were pleased to let me be heard; And understanding me to have been abandoned by him who drew me from Venice, Your Majesty then deigned to favor me with a pension, with which I might be able to dwell in the Community of Our Lady of Good Tidings, until such a time as the occasion presented itself for me to place myself in some more distinguished lodgings. Now, having wrought some Compositions in Music in this holy retreat, available to me through the greatness of Your Majesty, I come to submit them before your Royal feet, as a most reverential token of my immense Obligations. There I pray most humbly they may find favor with your customary royal benignity, and I make you the deepest obeisance.

Your Majesty's

Most Humble and most Obedient servant
Antonia Bembo"

⁵ Preserved at the Bibliothèque de Versailles.

two are settings of *Domine salvum fac regem*, and five are works that echo in musical praises the flattery of her preface. The first number congratulates Louis XIV for having chased *il calvinismo immondo* ("the unholy Calvinism") from his kingdom, and no. 10 celebrates the peace that has "bowed the Pyrenees"; all the compositions intended especially for the *Roi Soleil* contain euphemistic passages about the sun, its rays, its splendor.

The collection contains, altogether, forty pieces, of which five are set to sacred Latin texts, one to French words (no. 40), and the other thirty-four to Italian words. An author is named for only one of the Italian texts—the same Aurelia Fedeli whose volume of poems I have alluded to above, a volume which does not include the lines set to music by our Venetian. It is possible that Antonia herself wrote a good many of the texts to which she composed. The education which young Italian women received in the XVIIth century rendered them capable of writing both the verses and the music of their compositions. Rosa Giacinti Badalli, for example, who entered the convent of Saint Radegunda at Milan and in 1684 published a collection of twelve motets, is represented at the Bibliothèque nationale by a cantata in manuscript, perhaps in her own hand, *O fronde care, fate l'eco del mio cor*, of which she says she composed the verses as well as the music.⁶

From the point of view of performance, most of these works of Antonia's are written for a soprano voice. Thirty-two of them are supplied with simple figured-bass accompaniments (nos. 1, 6-13, 15-17, 20-32, 34-40). It is not too rash to believe that she composed most of the airs with the intention of singing them herself, in the best register of her own voice, and with the ornaments with which she probably knew how to shine. Two other soprano airs have an accompaniment for two violins and figured bass (nos. 2 and 5); in the second, which is intended for Christmas, there is an instrumental prelude (p. 46); one air requires only a single violin with the bass (no. 3). Two duets for sopranos (nos. 4 and 19); one trio for two sopranos and tenor (no. 14) with two violins, *basso continuo*, and instrumental prelude; one duet for soprano and tenor (no. 18); and one duet for soprano and bass (no. 33) complete the collection.

A comparison of this earliest collection of Antonia's with later works

⁶ The accompaniment of the first air in this cantata is intended, strangely enough according to our standards, for *violini, ò trombe*—"violins, or trumpets"; the second for flutes or violins. The musical style is excellent. The work is dedicated to the minister Louvois.

of hers shows plainly that here we still have the stammerings and first insecure steps of a young talent. Antonia hardly ventures beyond rather dry recitative and florid airs, the latter at times so academic that one believes one is hearing solfeggio exercises. But here and there the intense rhythmic life and the melodic ebullition, that are to mark her future works, pierce through. A foretaste of her best qualities appears in the little Christmas motet (pp. 48-63) notable for its truly churchly style. There are excellent passages also in the *Martirio di Sta. Regina* (pp. 73-87).

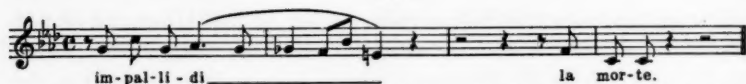
She is clearly more at ease in pieces inspired by religion than in the cantatas consecrated to the glory of the king and the princes, in which she remains cold and conventional. Nevertheless, there is ingenuity in the cantata for three voices, on the marriage of the Duchess of Burgundy (no. 14, p. 120), and much charm in the little work entitled *Clizia amante del Sole* ("Clizia in love with the Sun"), which begins with the words *Lungi dal patrio tetto* ("Far from the paternal roof") (no. 15, p. 146.) Did Antonia wish to infer that her feeling for the king was more than mere admiration? Her sentiments doubtless were only platonic. All the same, the *aria* incorporated in this composition, *Per te vivo* ("I live for thee") (p. 150), sounds an emotional note rare enough with this musician. But in a strange piece addressed to Icarus (no. 8, p. 87), she alludes to the dangers to which one exposes oneself when one approaches too close to the sun.

Stiff when she tries to imitate recitative in the French manner, she recovers all her suppleness and vivacity in arias that are unpretentious, not dedicated to illustrious patrons, without pompous subjects, arias that make use of the Italian style of the end of the XVIIth century. Let us cite, as examples, the arias *Di bell' ire* and *Mi consolo* (pp. 195 and 202). The nobility of which she is capable shows itself already in the aria *Superba mente* (p. 89), and she is not far from the highest summits of music in her *Aria adagio* (it has no further title), in which she may well have been translating personal emotions and memories into sound, *Habbi pietà di me, non mi lasciar morir* ("Have mercy on me, do not let me die") (p. 157). Perhaps still other pieces bear traces of her misfortunes, notably *Anima perfida, ingrato cor* ("Unfaithful soul, ungrateful heart") (p. 224).

There is hardly any better evidence for the proud and sweeping quality of her themes than the aria *Chi desia viver in pace* (p. 246, first part), and one finds here and there strangely expressive passages,

such as this "Parsifalesque" conclusion to the *Lamento della Virgine* (no. 6):

Ex. I



Each of these pieces offers a sufficiently supple alternation of recitatives and arias, in which varied rhythms are mingled and in which the succession of passages marked *forte* and *piano* afford another kind of diversity. A musician educated at Venice in the last quarter of the XVIIth century could not fail, among other things, to decorate the airs by placing, above all the words that would lend themselves to such treatment, those florid embellishments whose significance had become more or less fixed: steely shafts of tone symbolizing war or discord; sparkling scales describing rays of light, of the sun, of the stars; vocal garlands representing the royal crown, etc. Here we have the inevitable melodic formulas of the time.

* * *

The Duke of Brittany was born on June 24, 1704. He was the elder son of the Duke of Burgundy, himself a grandson of the king and second in line to the throne. On the next day, June 25, Louis XIV wrote to the archbishop of Paris ordering the celebration of a *Te Deum* of thanksgiving at the cathedral. It was doubtless not on this occasion that Antonia's *Te Deum*, contained in the second collection of her works, was performed: she would not have had enough time to write it, unless she had composed it in advance. It was more likely during the following months—and necessarily before April, 1705, since the little prince did not live long—that Bembo wrote, in honor of the young mother, the important choral work, with accompaniment for string orchestra, which is preserved today at the Bibliothèque nationale in a volume bound with the arms of Adelaide (cross of Savoy and lily of France) under the call-number Res. V m¹ 112. It bears the following title:

Te deum per render gratie a Sua diuina Maestà del Glorioso Parto di Vostra Altezza Reale, che a [sic] dato al mondo un Principe così aggradito a tutto l'Vniuerso et in particolare à Sua Maestà. Con l'aggiunta d'un picciolo diuertimento, per la Nascita del medesimo Principe. Musica di Antonia Bembo, N^{ble} V^{la}.⁷

⁷ "Te deum to render thanks to His Divine Majesty for the Glorious Confinement of Your Royal Highness, which has given to the world a Prince so pleasing to all the Universe and in particular to His Majesty. With the addition of a little *diuertimento*, for the Birth of the said Prince. Music by Antonia Bembo, Venetian Noblewoman."

A dedication to the Duchess follows. This is also in Italian. In it Antonia affirms with what intense zeal she presents her respects, and she commends herself to the august protection of the princess and of the whole royal family. The signature, *di V^{ra} Altezza Reale Humiliss[im]a, diu[otissi]ma et fedeliss[im]a Serua, Antonia Bembo* ("from Your Royal Highness's most Humble, most devoted and most faithful Servant, Antonia Bembo") shows that she had personal relations with Adelaide and had doubtless already received favors from her.

The four or five years that elapsed between Antonia's first and second collections were certainly not wasted. A broadening in her style is noticeable. She is now in possession of her own individual means of expression. The melodies move with a frank boldness; there is dexterity in the architecture of the pieces and in the manner of assembling the airs and recitatives; the modulations are often abrupt and startling; there are great animation and intense life in the instrumental *ritornelli*: such have become the characteristics of her music. What characterizes the *Te Deum* and what became the salient traits of her maturity can be summed up in one word—too rarely applicable to the music of women composers—and that is: grandeur. The wideness of the melodic intervals produces an impression of high mettle, of power; the dignity of the slow themes, the fervor of the quick ones, the sudden modulations which strike the senses like a courageous resolution, the feeling for the right rhythm—slow and majestic for words dealing with the eternal, brilliant for those of praise—, all these things help to create, in this score, an air of nobility that cannot be denied.

The *Te Deum* is written for three vocal parts: two sopranos and a bass, with two violin parts and figured bass. It is firmly fixed from the beginning in the key of E minor (let us remember that the Gregorian hymn is in the closely allied Phrygian mode), which dominates until the end, but with long passages in neighboring keys: successively, C major (*Te æternum*), B minor (*Sanctus*), F-sharp minor, A major, E minor (*Tu rex*), G major, B-flat major (*Æterna fac*), D minor (*Per singulos dies*), A minor (*Miserere nostri*), E minor (*In te Domine*). This series of modulations corresponds to the following scheme, which is highly logical and sound:

Ex. 2



In this work, Antonia shows an altogether Italian understanding of

the balance of choral values skilfully distributed on several planes; she knows how to superimpose the voices, to pit them against or to wed them to the instruments; and she does not draw the line at spreading out those graceful garlands of thirds and sixths, which too many composers of the time were content to use in the guise of instrumental polyphony. In this respect, the beginnings of the verses *Patrem immensæ* (p. 27) and *Miserere* (p. 56) are typical. She increases the effect of her themes by repeating them *piano* after having first presented them *forte*, as in the instrumental *ritornello* which goes with the final verse.

The *Te Deum* is followed by a big five-part chorus with string orchestra; it is the little *divertimento per la Nascità del medesimo Principe*, mentioned on the title-page of the collection. As in the *Te Deum*, the interest of this work lies less in the originality of the style than in the plastic beauty of the themes. The writing for five voices is skilful and denotes a musician trained in this type of technical work. A fault with which one might charge her earlier works—rather short-breathed themes, abandoned before they have yielded their potential developments—, is already almost overcome in the "little *divertimento*." The motives are not cut and laid out in fragments, except to the extent imposed by the custom—shared by all the composers of the time—of annexing to the vocal exposition of a theme a repetition for the instruments: whence results a perpetual play of echoes which tends to break the musical discourse. In the duet of the two Cupids (p. 30), which has a beautiful melodic texture and an unusual rhythm, the line is often interrupted, above a bass in continuous motion, by just such instrumental repetitions. This does not prevent the duet, with the choral passages into the midst of which it is inserted, from constituting a number of uncommon quality, worthy of being revived. There follows a *Coro di gratie*, for trio of women's voices, which extols Adelaide's beautiful eyes. We know, in fact, from the writings of Saint-Simon, that these eyes brightened the young princess's whole face which, however, was otherwise rather plain. This trio, had it been signed by one of the great names of the XVIIIth century, would be a celebrated piece. An invitation to happiness and to the dance then leads to a little ballet: a gigue, followed by an air as charming as it is brief, and a minuet. After this there begins a five-part chorus (pp. 63-74) full of striking animation and breadth. We should not overlook the aria, *Trionfi sempre* (p. 78), with its flowing vocalises, and the gigue on p. 72. At the end there is a repetition of the opening chorus which thus seals the unity of this long

A. Madama la Duchessa
di Borgogna per la Nascita di Mon^{no}
il Duca di Bertagna

Madama

Supplico V.^{ra} Altezza Reale riceuer in buon grado Su Te Deum
per render grate a. sua Divina Maestà d'haver concesso alla
Straniera un Principe cotifare a. sua Maestà è a tutta la
sorte come il Glorioso Duca di Bertagna con l'aggiunta d'un
divertimento per la Nascita di questo Herede che riempie le
operanze di tutto il mondo. Tutto per rinarrar indubitabile del
Sommo zelo con che gli presento i miei profondi rispetti,
è vacandomi andando mi alla sublime protezione di Vostra
Altezza Reale et di tutta la Real famiglia
Di V.^{ra} Altezza Reale

Amulisa. di. ^{ma} e fedelissima
Antonina Bernab. M.^{te} V.^{ra}

166

Aria allegro **Terzo Ritornello**

Aria Allegro

purchè tu goda di importar te' che si aper

Goda o' per mercede purchè tu goda di importar

Page 166 of the Manuscript of the *Ercole Amante* of
 Antonia Bembo, showing the beginning of Venus's Air in Act III

(By Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale, Paris)

and complex cantata. Unity of tonality is achieved by the use of the principal key, A major, of the immediately neighboring keys, D major, D minor, and A minor, the key of E minor preparing as a sort of dominant for the final return of A major.



If I incline towards considering the *Te Deum* which constitutes manuscript Rés. Vm¹ 114 of the Bibliothèque nationale as later than the *Te Deum* for the birth of the Duke of Brittany, it is first of all because Bembo presents it as her Opus 3, doubtless considering the whole of the *Produzioni armoniche* as her Opus 1, and, as Opus 2, the collection prepared in honor of Adelaide of Savoy and containing the first *Te Deum* and the "little *divertimento*." In the second place, it is because the composer, without giving up the use of Italian for her prefaces, has progressed in French and indicates the titles, dynamics, and agogics, in this language. Henceforth she makes her own, in particular, the expression *fort lentement et tendrement* of the composers of her time. It is also because her orchestra has developed: in addition to the strings, she now uses flutes and bassoons. It is, finally, because the tone of her dedication to the king has somewhat changed and because she follows the *Te Deum* with an *Exaudiat te Dominus in die tribulationis*, which might be interpreted as an indication that the period of the king's reverses has already begun. The bitter close of his long reign is at hand.

Here are the title and dedication of the work:

Te deum per Impetrar da Sua Diuina Maestà la conseruatione d'un Monarcha cosi Grande come Luigi quattordic, e tutta la Sua Familia Reale, accompagnato d'un Exaudiat. Compositione di Antonia Bembo N^{ble} V^{ta}.*

Sire,

Luigi il grande, il Forte, il Saggio, l'Inuicibile, Sommo Giove de la terra, Monarcha dei Monarchi, ardisco dedicare il terzo laboro di miei deboli fatiche alla Sacra Maestà Vostra. Vn Te deum per render gratie a la Maestà Diuina (e medesimamente per Impetrar la conseruatione d'un Principe cosi Caro a Vostra Maestà, e a tutta la Corte come il duca di Bertagna) con l'aggiunta d'un Exaudiat. Sire, chi dà quanto puo, da quanto deue, Et le forti passioni più s'esprimono con un diuoto silentio, che con Vna faconda Eloquenza. Che però ardisco Sottoscriuermi con il più Sommeso é profondo rispetto

Di V^{ra} Maestà christianissima

Fedele, Sommesa et ossequio[sissi]ma Serua

Antonia Bembo N^{ble} V^{ta} 8

⁸ "Te Deum to entreat of His Divine Majesty the preservation of a Monarch as Great as Louis fourteenth, and all His Royal Family, accompanied by an *Exaudiat*. Composed by Antonia

Does this letter-preface refer to the first duke, who was born in 1704 and died in April 1705, the one for whom Antonia had composed her first *Te Deum*? This is not very likely. But, a second son having been born to the Duchess of Burgundy on January 8, 1707, the king could not foresee, when naming this great-grandchild Duke of Brittany in his turn, that ill luck would again attach to the title: the child died in March, 1712, like his parents, and at the same time as they, of an infectious disease. The work is to be placed, then, after January, 1707, and probably in the first months of that year. In this *Te Deum*, of vast proportions (pp. 1-123 of the volume), Antonia for the first time uses a large orchestra. We cannot tell exactly what instruments make up the "symphonic" whose mass of sound balances that of the five vocal parts. Like most of her contemporaries, she intends the six orchestral parts for instruments more or less indeterminate which, according to circumstances, will be violins of all sizes, *flûtes à bec*, oboes, trumpets, and—for the bass—bassoons and bass-voils, with an organ or a harpsichord for the realization of the *basso continuo*. Let us remember that few composers of this period designated by name the instruments that were to perform their works. The many instrumental parts they wrote sometimes bear no indication of what they were meant for. When, moreover, the composers went to the trouble of showing what instruments they wanted, their intentions surprise us. Marc-Antoine Charpentier, for example, who often enough specified the instruments of his orchestra, asks that the bass of his *Offerte pour l'orgue et pour les violons, flûtes et hautbois* be played by "serpents, cromornes, bassoons, and organ."

Usually the passages Antonia wishes *piano* bear indications that they are to be played by flutes accompanied only by bassoons. When the dynamic marking is *forte*, the violins join in. The choruses are ordinarily accompanied by the full orchestra.⁹ Towards the end of the work

Bembo, Venetian Noblewoman.

"Sir,

Louis the great, the Strong, the Wise, the Invincible, Highest Jove of the earth, Monarch of Monarchs, I take the liberty of dedicating the third production of my feeble efforts to Your Sacred Majesty. A *Te Deum* to render thanks to the Divine Majesty (and with the same means to Entreat the preservation of a Prince so Dear to Your Majesty, and to all the Court, as the Duke of Brittany) with the addition of an *Exaudiat*. Sir, he who gives as much as he can, gives as much as he should, and the strong passions express more with a devout silence than with abundant Eloquence. Wherefore I take the liberty of Subscribing myself with the most Great and profound respect

Your most Christian Majesty's

Faithful, Eager and most Humble Servant

Antonia Bembo, Venetian Noblewoman"

⁹ In accordance with the "Italian format" used by Antonia, she notates the *chœur de voix* on the left-hand pages and the *chœur de symphonie* on the opposite right-hand pages.

the designations no longer appear: Bembo presumes that her intentions have been grasped.

Considerable variety is obtained through the distribution of the parts. From one end to the other, color and volume change from verse to verse. The predominating key is A major, occasionally supplemented here and there by keys we would call neighboring, but returning whenever the text reverts to the ideas of hope in God or of glory.

The *Exaudiat*, on the contrary, is generally faithful to the somber key of C minor, which is suitable to the tragic character of the XXth Psalm (the XIXth in the Latin numbering). The setting is for two sopranos and a high bass, with the accompaniment of two "symphonic" parts and *basso continuo*. One may observe here that the influence of French music must have affected the Venetian, who now gives less free range to coloratura passages, more calm to the melody; the cadence formulas approach those used in France since Lully. Nevertheless, towards the end, with the return of confidence at the verse, "But we are risen, and stand upright," the chorus—imitated by the instruments—cannot refrain from expressing its joy with long florid passages forming garlands of thirds and tenths.

The volume ends with a new *Domine, salvum fac regem* for three vocal parts, two "symphonic" parts, and *basso continuo*. The piece is related to the *Exaudiat*, to which it probably formed a conclusion, through the use of the same key of C minor.



We now come to the composition which I regard as Antonia's Op. 4, but upon which she must have worked for many months before offering it to Louis XIV in 1707. This is her masterpiece, destined for the stage which, however, owing to special circumstances, it never reached, either at Court or at the Académie Royale de Musique, and thus it has remained in obscurity for more than two hundred years.

While the *Produzioni armoniche* (which I shall refer to as Op. 1) are wrapped in a fine binding with the arms and monogram of the king himself, while the first *Te Deum*—written for the Duchess of Burgundy—(doubtless Op. 2) forms with the little *divertimento* a volume bearing the arms of that princess, and the third collection (containing the second *Te Deum* and the *Exaudiat*) is again covered with the red morocco of Louis XIV, the new work, in two volumes, was bound in the XVIIIth century with only ordinary calf, unstamped; the

process of binding, moreover, was awkwardly handled, a portion of the marginal annotations having been cut off. The coat of arms which now appears on the cover, with the motto *Ardeo, persevero, spero*, was probably not added until some time in the XIXth century and was that of an English owner. This work now bears the number, Vm⁴ 9-10, in the catalogue of the Bibliothèque nationale.

As she had done for the other collections, the composer wrote the title and dedication at the beginning of the work, apparently in her own hand. In this instance they read:

*L'Ercole Amante, Tragedia Nuovamente Posta In Musica da Domina Antonia Bembo No[bi]le Ve[ne]ta, E Consacrata alla Majestà Christiana Di Luigi quarto Decimo. L'anno 1707.*¹⁰

The list of characters follows on the back of the same page. At the beginning of the second volume, Antonia placed a poem, "To the King," which gives us the measure of her literary talent and allows us to claim that she was at any rate capable of writing the texts of certain of her first compositions.

The libretto selected by Antonia is the one to which Cavalli had already written the famous opera ordered from him for the marriage festivities of Louis XIV. The Italian verses were by the Abbé Buti. In 1662, Robert Ballard, the music printer to the king, had produced a magnificent edition of this libretto, containing the Italian text and, opposite it, the French translation, thus enabling the spectators to follow the action perfectly.¹¹ As for Cavalli's music, it has remained in manuscript to this day, with the exception of some excerpts, and is preserved at the Library of Saint Mark's at Venice,¹² with most of the manuscript operas of this composer.

¹⁰ "Hercules in Love," Tragedy Newly Set to Music by Lady Antonia Bembo, Venetian Noblewoman, and consecrated to the Christian Majesty of Louis XIV. In the year, 1707."

¹¹ The king's copy is preserved at the Bibliothèque nationale (Rés. Y f 60, in-fol.), as well as that of the great Condé (Rés. Y f 1312, in-8°) who danced in the ballet, in which, appropriately enough in view of his military exploits, he was charged with the rôle of Alexander the Great. There is also a copy at the Library of Congress in Washington; this copy is of special interest because of some criticisms made by an unidentified but apparently contemporary English spectator.

¹² Ms. 9883. Cf. Henry Prunières, *L'Opéra italien en France avant Lully*, Paris, 1913. A detailed history of Cavalli's opera may be found in this book (pp. 211-297), as well as a complete analysis of the libretto and, in the musical supplement (pp. 27-32), two extracts from the score, corresponding to the passages we print on pp. 160-5 *infra* in the version of Antonia Bembo. Prunières publishes also, on plates IV and V of his work, *Cavalli* (Paris, Rieder, 1931), two photographs from the Venetian manuscript. Two other short fragments of Cavalli's *Ercole* are published by Egon Wellesz in the *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft*, I (1913), pp. 94-98.

It must have been saddening for Louis XIV, old, sick, a man upon whom Fortune was beginning to turn her back, to behold in this new guise operatic scenes that had yielded him a rich measure of personal success at the time of his wedding. At the first performance, February 7, 1662, the young queen had figured with him in an *entrée*, and the *intermezzi* of the ballet—Lully had composed them for the occasion—had seen him play several rôles, notably those of the god Mars and of the Sun. The bitterness he may have felt before such memories doubtless explains in part why Antonia's work did not meet with the approbation that would have crowned it with success and its composer with glory.

Another reason for the silence in which Bembo's opera has been engulfed from the start, is that the Italian style had ceased to please in France. Now it is precisely this style that holds sway in her works. The frequenters of the Académie Royale de Musique, grown accustomed by this time to the music of Lully and his successors, would have railed against the cacophony. Instead of flowing lines, instead of Lully's dignified and rather formal gait, they found here rugged and angular musical figures, cross rhythms, sudden bursts of melody, anguished syncopations; in place of a full and gently sonorous harmony, they found here an impetuous and ebullient counterpoint. This is what caused Lecerf de la Viéville to write, in his *Comparaison de la musique italienne et de la musique française* (p. 67),¹⁸ in connection with Italian music: "It is a broken, crippled music, that jolts constantly, if I may speak in this manner . . . Imagine how agreeable this is in comparison with the smooth and flowing music of Lully. Not that one should banish, or that Lully banishes, interruptions, sighs, pauses. The least half-sigh, well placed, has beauty. But . . . the Italians have only one talent, which is, to be lavish with everything."

And certainly our Antonia is lavish with everything and gives, without reckoning, from the fulness of a generous nature. She delights in big designs and strongly characterized rhythms. Perhaps occasional harshness may be considered a fault of hers, but there is nothing small or niggardly about her, and, if she sins, it is through too great liberality.

She renounces Cavalli's long recitatives, often dry and monotonous, for a type of declamation half-way between the recitative and the air, a type that takes its rapid utterance from the former, its melodic breadth from the latter. To this mixed *genre* belongs the *Adagio* sung by Iole

¹⁸ Brussels edition, 1705.

in Act IV (p. 309), *Hillo, il mio ben, è morto*, a recitative of grand sweep. As for the airs, many of them frankly show their XVIIIth-century origin. I shall refer only to two airs in *Siciliano* rhythm, that of Hercules at the beginning of Act I and that of the Page at the beginning of Act V, as well as Venus' Air in Act III, *Pur che tu goda* (p. 166), Hercules' air, *Al fine il ciel d'amor* (p. 382) and Juno's, *Sù, sù, allegrezza* (p. 440; the pagination is continuous through the two volumes containing the opera).

The compactness of the five-part choruses is remarkable and heralds the century of Bach and Handel. One can censure only the overuse of the *ritornelli*, which cut short the soaring flight of the choral writing and chop up the most alluring airs.

A love duet of unusual quality, in which expressiveness is achieved with the help of syncopations and clashing accents, opens Act II. This duet is followed by one of the most astonishing scenes in the work, that which takes place in the cave of slumber and surpasses by far the corresponding scene from Cavalli's opera, published by Prunières. Antonia shows here that Louis XIV made no mistake in basing on her those hopes of which he gave proof when he pensioned her. A fine sense of melody is disclosed in Pasithea's air, *Mormorate, o fiumicelli* (an *adagio* in F minor), which depicts, in lofty manner, the shadowy calm of the realm of dreams. The composer does not altogether succeed in making her melody subdued and murmurous, in curbing the flight of her imagination. In spite of herself, the musical idea expands and attains an imposing development.

Ex. 3

Ercole amante
Act II p. 110

Pasithea
1^{re} dessus de symphonie
2^{de} dessus de symphonie
Basse

Mor - mo - ra -

te, o flu-mi-cel-li, Sus-su-ra - te, o ven-ti-cel-li,

E col vos-tro su -

su-ro e mor-mo-ri-o dolci in-

can-ti dell o-bli-o

Chò - gui - cu - ra fu - gar pon - no, Lu - sin -

ga - teal

Son - no, il son - no etc.

After this comes a chorus (Prunières publishes Cavalli's equivalent of this also), *Dormi, dormi, o Sonno!* While Cavalli is willing to lull us to sleep—tenderly, in fact—our Bembo puts so much expression into her chorus that she stirs us wide awake.

Ex. 4

Coro d'aure e ruscelli
Same act p. 114

Symphonie
à
5 parties

Chœur
à
5 voix

Basse

Dor - mi,
Dor - mi,
Dor - mi,

dor - mi, dor mi, o Son - no,
dor - mi, dor mi, o Son - no,
dor - mi, dor mi, o Son - no,

7 (h) 7 (h) 7

musical score for piano and voice, first system. The piano part is in the upper staves, and the voice part is in the lower staves. The key signature is two flats (B-flat and E-flat), and the time signature is 4/4. The piano part features a melody in the right hand and a bass line in the left hand. The voice part consists of three staves, each with a vocal line and the lyrics "O Son - no, dor - mi, mi,". The piano part includes the instruction "piano" in the first and third measures of the piano part.

musical score for piano and voice, second system. The piano part is in the upper staves, and the voice part is in the lower staves. The key signature is two flats (B-flat and E-flat), and the time signature is 4/4. The piano part features a melody in the right hand and a bass line in the left hand. The voice part consists of three staves, each with a vocal line and the lyrics "dor - mi, fra le braccie à Pa - si -". The piano part includes the instruction "piano" in the first measure of the piano part.

the-a, Ninfa ha-ver gia-mai po-

the-a, fra le braccie à Pa-si the-a, Ninfa ha-ver gia-mai po-

fra le braccie à Pa-si the-a, Ninfa ha-ver gia-mai po-

te-a più d'af-fet-ti à tuoi con-for-mi etc.

te-a più d'af-fet-ti à tuoi con-for-mi etc.

te-a più d'af-fet-ti à tuoi con-for-mi etc.

Perhaps not all portions of the opera are equally felicitous, but it offers several other high points, especially in the last two acts. Unfortunately, in so brief a study of this extraordinary work, it is impossible to point these all out.

Antonia would not miss the chance of ornamenting with *floriture* such words as seemed to demand them, viz., *allegrezza* ("happiness"),

gioia ("joy"), *lieto* ("merry"), *contenti*. She had learned to apply these vocal embellishments from the Italian opera, the heir, in this respect, of the madrigal. Just as in the madrigals of Marenzio a century before, short notes follow one another rapidly in settings of expressions such as *fugano a vol* ("they put to flight"), *volare* ("to fly"), *penne* ("feathers") (p. 253), etc. On *fuga* ("flight"), *aquilon* ("the north wind") (p. 275), there are descending scales; on *raggio* ("ray"), ascending ones. On *tempeste* (pp. 42, 275) and *naufreggi* ("wrecks"), there are long, tortuous motives, full of very wide intervals and jarring rhythms. At the word *cercar* ("to seek") there is an intricate theme in which the notes seem to turn round about each other (p. 99). At the words *gioco d'ingegno* ("game of skill") (p. 176), the two voices that are singing indulge in a real rhythmic game. And naturally every allusion to the streams of the nether world or to humility leads the voice down to the lowest tones in its range. Every reference to the laws or bonds of marriage elicits progressions of parallel thirds (see especially pp. 392-93, 408-9). The parallelism between the words and the melodic design, produced by a whole century of seeking after musical imagery, had, by this time, the force of law.

Just a word about Antonia's orchestra. The number of parts, in the purely instrumental pieces, is six. One may assume, without too great risk of error, that the orchestral texture is made up by the stringed instruments. The Opéra at Paris did not have any other instrumental choir at its command during this period, and it preserved the tradition of Lully. In 1707, its orchestra consisted usually of four violins and four basses: bass-viols, bass-violins with five strings, basses with four strings, bassoons. Serpents could double the bass-violins. The Italian double-bass had yet to arrive. It is probable that the flute was now and then admitted. Antonia expressly asks for it in several places, and especially in the *sinfonia* of Act V (p. 435).



During the ten years or so that she had been in France, our composer had had time to learn the language. Thus far she had risked composing to only one French text (that of no. 40 in the *Produzioni armoniche*), and, in *Ercole*, only a few words were written in French. Now at last she decides to be more venturesome. But times have changed. The hour of affliction, of old age, of sickness, of prayer, has

arrived for the king; he may no longer wish to be entertained with opera-ballets. His spirit is turned towards piety: to please him now she offers him Psalms.

For these reasons—the choice of language and the existence of an opportune occasion for a work having the character of the one remaining for discussion—I consider as Antonia's last surviving contribution, as her Opus 5, the collection (Rés. Vm¹ 116) that bears the title:

Les sept Pseaumes de David, Mis En air par M^{me} Bembo, N[ob]le Ve[nitien]ne, Dédiez a sa Majesté Tres chrétienne Louis Quatorze.

Here follows a dedicatory letter, couched in her usual terms of humility and admiration, but now for the first time written in French. She has even Gallicized her name and signs herself "Antoinette" instead of "Antonia."

Since the time is one of sorrows and regrets, she has applied herself to setting to music the seven Psalms called the "Psalms of Penitence" (Nos. VI, XXXI, XXXVII, L, CI, CXXIX, and CXLII, in the Latin version; Nos. VI, XXXII, XXXVIII, LI, CII, CXXX, and CXLIII, in the King James version).

The French poets of the XVIIth century—Corneille and Racine not excepted—delighted in paraphrasing the Psalms of David in verse. There was no dearth of musicians to set these verses. The famous Bishop Godeau, who had written Psalm-paraphrases, had, in the space of a few years, found at least four composers ready, one after the other, to embellish them with music—Jacques de Gouy, Arthur Auxcousteaux, Antoine Lardenois, and Thomas Gobert.

The translation into French verse, chosen by Antonia, was one by quite an unusual woman, such as the reign of Louis XIV beheld on several occasions, Elisabeth-Sophie Chéron (1648-1711). A musician and lutenist herself, she was above all a painter and had been received, in 1672, as a member of the Academy of Painting where she had been presented by Lebrun. Her pictures deal readily with musical subjects, as in her "Two Young Ladies Tuning a Harpsichord," which she displayed at the Salon of 1704. In 1699, she had contributed to the Salon a portrait of M. Morel, musician to the king. Her self-portrait appears at the front of her Psalms,¹⁴ but for the other twenty-four plates we are indebted to the burin of her brother Louis (1655-1715)—all the family was gifted.

¹⁴ *Essay de pseaumes et cantiques mis en vers . . . par Mlle****, Paris, Brunet, 1698, in-8° (Bibl. nat., A 6195). Elisabeth-Sophie did not remain a "demoiselle" all her life. At the age of sixty she married an engineer to the king, Jacques Le Hay.

To the setting of the seven Psalms, Antonia applies the style—a bit brusque and dry, but big and without preciousness—which is her own. Nothing could be farther from the genteel and somewhat sweetish manner in which most contemporary Frenchmen treated sacred music, whether for solo or small chorus. She escapes from her stern humor only with difficulty. But when tenderness is wanted, her tenderness is exquisite, as in the opening chorus of Psalm XXXI:

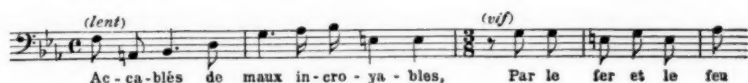
*Hereux celui dont les fautes passées
Dans le sein de l'obscurité
Se trouvent pour jamais pleinement effacées.*¹⁵

She turns the first Psalm into a duet for soprano and tenor; the second is for vocal quartet; the third and seventh have two sopranos for their protagonists; the fourth is a soprano solo, the fifth a soprano and bass duet, and the sixth a contralto solo. All are provided with instrumental accompaniment. But, within each Psalm, the *tempi* and keys change from verse to verse, different groups of voices alternate. Here, for example, is how the second Psalm (Psalm XXXI, *Hereux celui*) is constructed. After a very full and sonorous vocal quartet in A major, $\frac{3}{4}$ time, two sopranos take up the thread, and their discourse leads little by little into recitative; then comes a bass solo in A minor followed by a soprano solo, corresponding to verses 4 and 5 of the Psalm. At the words *Pressé de mes douleurs j'ay confessé mon crime* ("I acknowledged my sin unto thee, and mine iniquity have I not hid"—King James version), the whole quartet resumes (C major, $\frac{3}{4}$ time); then, after the consoling words, *Et tu m'as pardonné* ("And thou forgavest the iniquity of my sin"), which bring back the key of A major, there begins, with the words *Tu m'as rendu l'innocence première*, a beautiful soprano solo, supported by a gentle and continuous murmuring of the violins and the bass in even quarter-notes. A duet for contralto and bass corresponds to verses 6 and 7 of the Psalm. The duet is later taken over by two sopranos, and the others, one after the other, join in. The beautiful quartet, *Justes qui m'écoutez* ("Rejoice, ye righteous"), which corresponds to verse 11, concludes the setting. It should be pointed out that Antonia deals very adroitly, in all this, with her modulations and with the passage from a major key to its tonic minor. Her French recitative is correct and expressive, the accents are well placed; the melodic lines take shape in accordance with the moods they depict. Variety is obtained

¹⁵ "Blessed is he whose transgression is forgiven, whose sin is covered." (King James version.)

through a skilful and supple alternation of slow and fast *tempi*, and of ternary and binary rhythms, as in these few measures from pp. 204-5:

Ex. 5



Antonia, then, well understood the language she used. However, Italianate spellings such as *abandoner* and *chacher* (instead of *cacher*) appear occasionally and support our opinion that all those manuscripts at the Bibliothèque nationale that are in the same handwriting, allowance being made for understandable alterations, issued from her own hand and are, in short, autographs.

That compositions forming a whole of such proportions and interest should achieve mention by neither the chroniclers, nor the critics, nor the journals of the period; that it should not even be possible to find some trace of the pension the king awarded our composer, in the registers of the king's accounts (which I have consulted both in the Archives and at the Bibliothèque nationale); that we are totally uninformed of where Antonia passed her old age and of when she died—these are among the enigmas of music history.

(Translated by G. R.)

MEDIAEVAL QUARTAL HARMONY:

A PLEA FOR RESTORATION—PART I¹

By JOSEPH YASSER

A READER encountering a title that touches upon a restoration in the field of early mediæval music is almost bound to think immediately of those distinguished scholars who have been largely responsible for the revival of Gregorian chant—the Benedictines of Solesmes. Owing to the great prestige of these learned monks, he may even be predisposed to avail himself of their theories when passing judgment upon a fresh contribution. In view of this fact, the writer deems it wise to draw, at the outset, a dividing line between the established work of the Solesmes school and his own new endeavor, which is projected in a different and wholly unexplored direction. This will help the reader to free himself from his customary associations which, justified as they are in certain connections, may mislead him during the perusal of the present article.

The Benedictines of Solesmes embarked on their formidable task over half a century ago. In doing so, they launched a movement destined to play an important part in the problem of rhythmic interpretation of the ancient liturgical music of the Latin Church. The long path of these indefatigable scholars, although it eventually led to wide recognition of their labors, has not been smooth and easy. For decades the Solesmes theories had to force their way against a good deal of distrust and occasionally most devastating criticism, and the opposition then aroused in certain quarters has still not wholly vanished.²

It is only natural that those whose lot it has been to defend these theories should have sometimes carried their enthusiasm to extremes. The statement of Abbé Norbert Rousseau that "Solesmes is not a school

¹ Both Parts I and II of this paper were first read, in somewhat shorter form, before the Greater New York Chapter of the American Musicological Society, March 23, 1937.

² See Rev. T. A. Burge's article in the *Ampleforth Journal* (April, 1905), "An Examination of the Rhythmic Theories of Dom Mocquereau," republished in the form of a separate essay (R. & T. Washbourne, London, 1905). Also *Etudes sur le rythme grégorien*, by Dom J. Jeannin (1926), and a pamphlet by the same author, *Accent bref ou accent long en chant grégorien?* (Herelle et Cie., 1929).

but *the* school of Gregorian chant" may serve as a case in point.³ One need not go that far in order to acknowledge the significant contribution made by the Benedictine scholars in the field of Gregorian music. Suffice it to say that they have evidently been more successful than anyone else, so far, in restoring the fundamental principles of plainsong, even if, as they endeavored to develop and perfect their theories, they advanced some debatable conclusions.

At any rate, the rhythmic problem of Gregorian chant, admitting that it may not yet be completely solved in its minutest details, is in sufficiently trustworthy hands to render unnecessary our dwelling here upon its various aspects and future destiny. For present purposes, it may be accepted that any rhythmic interpretation of Gregorian chant made in the spirit of the Solesmes school is basically true, whatever minor deviations from its principles may occasionally take place.

THEORETICAL PREMISES FOR A NEW REVIVAL

The problem before us is of quite a different nature from the one mentioned above, though it may be regarded, in a way, as complementary. It concerns the *harmonic* background of Gregorian chant and the possible revival of the fundamental harmonic principles of the Middle Ages. These principles, although completely discarded for the last six hundred years or so, appear, after careful consideration, more authentic for Gregorian harmonization than those now generally adopted for it.

The plea for such a revival, however, should not be understood as advocating restoration of the frequently incompetent methods of *handling* these forgotten harmonic principles, as we find them—applied to rhythmically distorted Gregorian melodies—in the various *organa* and similar compositions of the early polyphonic period. Our revival concerns the fundamental harmonic principles themselves rather than the old and awkward methods of their application. And it is the ultimate aim of this article to show that these principles, organized into an appropriate working system, might be advantageously applied today to correctly interpreted (*i.e.* rhythmically restored) Gregorian melodies, for which, admittedly, no satisfactory method of harmonization has thus far been found, despite numerous attempts.

What, then, are these fundamental harmonic principles of early

³ See Rev. Clement Donovan's article entitled "Has Solesmes the Truth?" in the *Catholic Choirmaster*, Vol. VI, No. 2 (April, 1920). Abbé Rousseau is the author of *L'Ecole grégorienne de Solesmes*, and editor of the *Revue grégorienne*, the official organ of Solesmes Abbey.

polyphonic practice, and what theoretical, historical, and æsthetic grounds are there for their revival in the field of Gregorian music?

The answer to the first part of this question will be found in any textbook of music history, since these principles are fully attested by the basic classification of consonances and dissonances that was strictly adhered to by mediæval composers until *ca.* 1200, and that thereafter gradually disappeared from musical practice.

This classification is commonly regarded as "crude" and "incomplete," for it puts thirds and sixths into the category of *dissonant* intervals, contrary to later and allegedly "true" harmonic concepts. But a disparaging attitude towards the early classification has not proved well founded. The author has shown on another occasion (though without special reference to Gregorian chant) that this particular classification, which considers only fourths, fifths, and octaves as consonances, is just as "complete" and "true" *within its own sphere*, as our modern classification, and that, like the latter, it may serve as a basis for a perfectly independent and self-sufficient harmonic system.⁴ That the "truth" should turn out to be of a very relative nature may readily be expected. For the appreciation of consonances and dissonances—and, therefore, the classification of intervals—, at different periods, is largely determined by such a variable factor as harmonic sense, which is never absolute, universal, or exclusively "true" for all times and places.

It is worth noting, however, that despite its variability (or, perhaps, because of it), harmonic sense is one of the most powerful driving forces in the evolution of music. In fact, its efficacy is not limited to the province of harmony alone. It apparently exerts no little influence upon such an aspect of music as melody, which depends partly, at least, upon a certain inner feeling for the harmonic relations between tones to be consecutively sounded. (While the intonation of speech also normally affects the creation of a vocal melody, it is responsible only for the general directions of the melodic "curve," not for the intervals between the individual tones.)

There can be little doubt, for instance, that a composer whose ear perceives thirds and sixths as dissonances, molds a *melodic* line quite differently from one for whom these intervals are consonant. For an organic melodic line represents, generally speaking, nothing but a co-ordinated interplay between the comparatively stable and unstable

⁴ Joseph Yasser, "A Theory of Evolving Tonality" (American Library of Musicology, New York, 1932), Chapter VIII: On Infra-diatonic Harmony.

points of a musical scale, and these, naturally, are just as variable for the continually evolving human ear as are consonances and dissonances, upon the feeling for which the stability or instability of the individual tones directly depends. The tone that is stable (*i.e.*, a rest tone) for one kind of "harmonic mentality" may be unstable (*i.e.*, an active tone) for another, and *vice versa*. Thus, the third step of the diatonic scale sounds comparatively *stable* to the modern ear, which is "tertian" since it regards thirds, made of simultaneously produced sounds, as the smallest consonant intervals. But the very same third step must have been perceived as an *unstable* point by the mediæval ear, which was "quartal" since it considered fourths as the smallest consonant intervals and thirds as dissonant. The attitudes would have been reversed towards the fourth step of the scale, since this is an unstable point for the "tertian" ear and a stable one for the "quartal" ear, *etc.* Consequently, a composer wishing to lead his melody from one stable point to another, with an unstable point inserted between them, will resort to the progression C,D,E, if his ear is "tertian," or to C,D,F, if it is "quartal." (It may be observed, incidentally, that the latter progression is one of the most characteristic melodic figures in Gregorian chant.) Besides the degrees of stability and instability—just mentioned—of the different scale-tones in their relation to the *tonic*, there are certain such degrees—again variable—in their relation to *each other*. These degrees, too, play an important part in spontaneous melodic creation by composers possessing different "harmonic mentalities."

These considerations provide a clue to the theoretical, historical and æsthetic grounds for the proposed harmonic revival in Gregorian music, with which the second part of our question was concerned. Once we admit that any particular molding of a true melody (that is, one beyond mere primitive speech-intonation) depends, in any way, upon a certain stage of harmonic sense reached by the composer, we are compelled to recognize also that a full musical appreciation of this melody by the listener will occur only if his harmonic sense is generally "attuned" to the composer's. Thus, an unaccompanied Gregorian melody consisting of the tones D,G,F,E,C,D, let us say, will be properly understood by the listener only if his ear is adequately attuned to the basically "quartal" harmonic relations which doubtless form the framework of the fragment (D-G and F-C, with E as a passing-tone, plus the *finalis* D).

"Quartal attuning" presented no problem whatever to the mediæval

listener, whether musician or layman. For his harmonic sense was generally the same as that of the composer, whose innate feeling for *fourths* ("quarts") as basic consonances was responsible, even if he was not fully aware of it, for the spontaneous creation of melodies like the one just described. Things are different, however, with the modern listener. His harmonic sense, as we have seen, is not "quartal" but "tertian." He will therefore normally understand the very same melody as having a framework derived from *thirds* as fundamental consonant intervals (D-F, with G as an appoggiatura, E-C, and the *finalis* D).

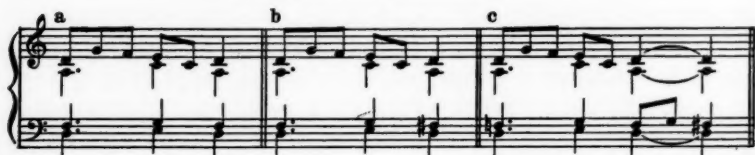
Obviously, the modern conception of the melodic framework imparts an entirely new musical meaning to our Gregorian example: the original melodic swing and rhythmic pulsation are practically lost in a "tertian" interpretation. This will be particularly evident from the following illustration, in which the difference between the two conceptions of the same melodic fragment is emphasized through two dissimilar types of harmonization, one following quartal principles, the other following tertian. (The purpose of the three cadential versions in each set will be made clear by a discussion reserved for the latter part of this article.)

Ex. I

Quartal Harmonization



Tertian Harmonization



The quartal harmonizations will sound probably less familiar and therefore less satisfying, at first hearing, than the tertian. Yet the former are the more authentic of the two, since they properly externalize

the harmonic relations existing in the melody. They thus supply the listener with a clarification of its real musical sense. Such a clarification of Gregorian melodies by means of actual and proper harmonization is virtually indispensable to any listener who happens, like most of us today, to possess a tertian mentality. It is wrong to assume, as many do, that we obtain an adequate musical concept of Gregorian melodies when they are performed without any harmonies at all. This is because any melody performed without accompaniment is usually harmonized by us subconsciously while we listen, and the "mental harmonization" inevitably and involuntarily (but wrongly, with Gregorian melodies) runs more or less along the lines followed in the above tertian versions. It is evident, then, that authentic harmonic clarification through quartal harmonization is preferable not only to a tertian harmonization, but also to a plain unison. Not until the modern ear is sufficiently retrained and adjusted to the quartal harmonic idiom will the Gregorian melodies be adequately perceived when unaccompanied.⁵

When dealing with the various quartal combinations in the actual process of true Gregorian harmonization, one will be rather surprised to learn how comparatively soon the tertian ear gets attuned to the unfamiliar and apparently primitive, but correct, harmonic idiom, and how quickly it begins to feel, contrary to its habit, the necessity of resolving the third, for instance, to a fourth. The retrained ear is able to turn back just as easily to its accustomed perception of modern tertian melodies and harmonies. And eventually it becomes capable of attuning itself adequately to either of these two idioms—quartal and tertian—at will.

HISTORICAL CONSIDERATIONS

It is not often immediately evident, from the melodic structure of the Gregorian airs, that they have—as we claim—a fundamentally quartal framework. What generally supports our contention and corroborates our structural analysis of them is the *time* of their origin. If they are removed from their historical background, their structure, like that of many other melodies, is capable of being interpreted theoretically in a variety of ways. For instance, even though the structure of the

⁵ A "modern" ear, of course, is less likely to handicap those ardent devotees of unaccompanied Gregorian chant who practically never use or hear any other music in their daily experience, and who may therefore intuitively perceive the quartal relations inherent in these melodies, without any preliminary or special harmonic training.

above (unaccompanied) Gregorian fragment is sufficiently clear, we could, under certain conditions, let it pass for a tertian product, were we not perfectly convinced that melodies of its sort belong to a period when the harmonic mentality of musicians was decidedly quartal.

A number of ancient authorities agree in testifying to the actual existence of such a mentality, in writings conceivably contemporaneous with the music that eventually developed into what is now commonly called Gregorian chant. Thus Nicomachus (c. A.D. 100) expressed the quartal mentality in the most precise and unambiguous manner by stating: "Any interval smaller than a fourth is a dissonance." In excluding thirds (and their inversions) from the group of consonances, he was following a theoretical classification of intervals dating from at least as far back as the IVth century B.C.⁶

This classification remained unchanged throughout the first twelve centuries of the Christian era. But we should not be too hasty (as many have been, including ourselves) in attributing this fact to the mere abstract speculations and dogmatic obstinacy of mediæval scholasticism. We should rather assume that, when a writer indulged in an elaborate and purely æsthetic description of intervals, he was recording their musical effect upon the ears of himself and his contemporaries. It is, after all, unlikely that the pedantic and "dry" authors of the Middle Ages would have applied such illustrative and graphic terms as "smooth and uniform" to consonances, or "harsh and unpleasant" to dissonances—as did Boethius, for instance, in the VIth century—unless they actually felt them to be so. Before Boethius, the ancient Greek writers—among them Plato and Aristotle—had described the intervals more or less similarly and had doubtless perceived them in much the same way.⁷

It matters little, if at all, so far as restoration of the ancient harmonic principles is concerned, whether simultaneous combinations of tones were *actually* used by the ancient Greeks or in the period when the Gregorian melodies were, allegedly, originated or adapted from various

⁶ One often encounters the opinion that the Greek consideration of the fourth as the smallest consonant interval (except the unison) was due to the ancient Pythagorean tuning. This produced thirds that were "impure" and therefore ranked among (acoustic) dissonances. But the exact ratios of pure thirds were already known theoretically long before Nicomachus (see H. L. Helmholtz, "On the Sensations of Tone," 1912, p. 262), and nothing prevented him from correcting the tuning of the Pythagorean thirds, had the musicians of his time inwardly perceived the simultaneously sounding alternate tones of the diatonic scale as forming consonant intervals.

⁷ It is worthy of note that, unlike the mediæval scholars, the Greeks occupied themselves mainly with the nature and sensorial effect of the consonance, paying comparatively little attention to the dissonance. See Otto Kinkeldey, "The Harmonic Sense, Its Evolution and Its Destiny" (*Proceedings of the Music Teachers' National Association*, 1924, pp. 12-13).

sources—Greek, Hebrew, *etc.*⁸ There is sufficient reason for recognizing the melodies as products of the quartal harmonic mentality, from the mere fact that those who created or adapted them *sensed* simultaneous combinations of fourths, fifths, and octaves as consonances and the rest as dissonances. This mentality must have worked itself into the very fiber of the melodic material. It is often claimed that the early mediæval composer had no actual accompaniment in mind for his plainsong melodies, and this may well be so. Nevertheless, he could not arbitrarily split his personality and divorce his creative faculty from his harmonic sense which, unknown to himself, predetermined the inner logic of his melodies. It is this fact that prompts our harmonizing a Gregorian melody according to the basic principles of quartal music and our seeking to formulate these principles for general use. A quartal harmonization will merely give tonal realization to the mediæval composer's underlying harmonic sense, and the realization, in turn, will help the modern listener to understand more thoroughly the inner logic of the Gregorian melody.

INEVITABLE CONSEQUENCES

In the light of the above argument, the whole problem of harmonizing Gregorian chant takes on a new aspect and has to be completely reconsidered.

It is immediately obvious that the old controversy over whether "Gregorian accompaniments" are admissible at all totally misses the point, as does that over the method of harmonization to be followed, if any. For the real issue is not whether harmonization of the chant is admissible from the traditional and stylistic viewpoint, or whether it is desirable sometimes for modern æsthetic purposes, or whether it might

⁸ There exists ample proof, however, that certain simple combinations, mostly fourths and fifths, were used by the Greeks, even if in a rather sporadic manner. (See "The Heritage of Greece in Music," by Wilfrid Perrett, in the *Proceedings of the Musical Association*, 58th session, London, 1931-32, p. 92; "Greek Music," by Cecil Torr, in the Introductory Volume of the "Oxford History of Music," 1929, p. 27; "Greek Music," by Phillips Barry, in *The Musical Quarterly*, V [1919], pp. 599-602.) We have no similar proof concerning the early centuries of the Christian era. But an assumption that at least certain vestiges of Greek "harmonic" practice were preserved is by no means far-fetched. Such an assumption would not run counter to the modern trend of historical thought with regard to the origin of mediæval harmony. It appears that the IXth- or Xth-century parallel *organa*, long regarded as the very first attempts towards harmony, were more likely somewhat *developed* forms of certain still more primitive and tentative harmonic endeavors (perhaps resembling those of ancient Greece) which evidently must have been quite close, in time, to the golden era of Gregorian chant. (See Marius Schneider, *Geschichte der Mehrstimmigkeit*, Vol. I, p. 14, Berlin, 1934; also J. Yasser, "Theory of Evolving Tonality," footnote on page 67.)

be tolerated for purely practical reasons. Likewise, whether harmonization, assuming it to be admissible, should be limited to the "simplest" diatonic triads and their inversions or whether it may include occasional discords; whether it should be strictly "modal" or may sometimes be "tonal"; whether it should lean towards polyphonic or homophonic treatment, *etc.*—all these points, extensively discussed in a great mass of text-books, treatises, articles, and essays, are beside the question.

As we have indicated, there are two crucial questions, already partially answered. (1) Is harmonization of the chant generally indispensable for the modern ear, whose power of perceiving a melody, as such, greatly differs from that of the mediæval ear, owing to the new harmonic distinctions it makes? (2) Should the harmonization (if indispensable, as it obviously is) be basically *quartal* or *tertian*, that is, should a *fourth* or a *third* be taken as the smallest (fundamental) consonant unit? Before these chief problems, all others become of secondary importance. Some, in fact, disappear altogether after an answer is given in favor of quartal harmonization—apparently the only kind that can clarify for us authentically the musical meaning of Gregorian melodies. We shall see presently how all the old problems are affected by our proposed harmonic restoration, which places a good many known facts in an entirely new setting, and, incidentally, illuminates much that has been unexplained or misunderstood in the past history and in the present use of Gregorian music.

Once we make our choice in favor of quartal harmony, we must be ready to accept all the logical consequences, no matter how unconventional and even challenging they may at first appear. The authenticity of quartal harmonization for Gregorian chant automatically excludes all other forms of harmonic approach to it, as well as all the various methods and styles of part-writing associated with them. The exclusion applies especially to the principles of tertian harmony, which were introduced into music at the close of the XIIth century and became definitely crystallized about two hundred years later. We are forced to admit, then, that all forms of harmonization of Gregorian chant, without exception—whether strict or free, "modal" or "tonal," polyphonic or homophonic, *etc.*—, have been basically unauthentic ever since *ca.* 1400. Moreover, we could quite legitimately brand all these forms as "modernistic," in the sense in which we apply this term to a method that uses unduly complicated and novel harmonies, in the capacity of concords, for melodies that are much simpler and historically earlier.

To many, these claims will probably appear quite incredible, if not utterly fantastic. The charge of "modernism" will seem particularly startling to those modest and conservative scholars who have been scrupulously careful all their lives, in their statements and actual practice with regard to the harmonization of Gregorian chant, lest the exquisite and fragile melodies should not fully preserve their purity and original musical meaning. One wonders, however, how these traits could ever be retained in any harmonizations for which the very advocates of circumspection had selected in advance, as axiomatically the "most simple" chord formations, the diatonic triads and their inversions. Apparently, none of these people realizes that the seemingly innocent and "most simple" chord formations, adopted since post-mediæval times as the principal concordant units applicable to Gregorian chant, represent, for a "Gregorian ear," nothing but a chain of manifest discords. These advocates seem not aware that the thoroughly tertian diatonic triads, when attached to Gregorian melodies (either actually or mentally), impose upon them something that is in sharp conflict with their original musical meaning and thus misrepresents their intrinsic spirit.

The above statements are not made with the idea of throwing the blame for the misrepresentation upon the shoulders of admittedly well-intentioned scholars. Their views merely reflect the conventional harmonic dogmas conveyed to them by what they erroneously consider the true tradition. As for these dogmas themselves, they were established long before any one was in a position to realize two important, correlated points: (1) The generally accepted major and minor triads represent the full concords of merely one particular harmonic system; (2) Quite different full concords (more primitive, as well as more complicated), representative of other harmonic systems, may, in certain forms of musical art, be equally justified. It has evidently not occurred to the scholars in question that some sort of a "non-triad" system might turn out to be more fitting for the harmonization of Gregorian chant than the familiar diatonic system.

Still less is it our purpose to belittle those great masters whose works incorporate a goodly amount of Gregorian melodies (in the broader sense) but unremittingly employ diatonic triads as concords. We must bear in mind, however, that it is *despite* the misrepresentation of the melodies that such works remain masterpieces. The unauthentic harmonic treatment may do violence to the Gregorian airs and the composer yet be a genius.

It will probably prove hard to grow accustomed to the seemingly paradoxical idea that such an outstanding figure in Roman liturgical music as Palestrina, for instance, was definitely unauthentic in representing the fundamental melodic material of that very music—the Gregorian chant. Yet one is bound to arrive at such a conclusion. For, not only is Palestrina's rhythmical interpretation of the chant basically untrue—a now widely recognized fact—, but the harmonic "clarification" he applies to such Gregorian melodies as he borrows is incorrect also, since, unlike them, it has a tertian and not a quartal foundation.

Palestrina's unauthentic representation of Gregorian melodies is never strikingly obvious, if at all, to one who listens today to the music of this otherwise superb composer. But this fact should not mislead us. We must not forget that the modern listener himself as a rule possesses a long established tertian mentality. Palestrina's harmonies therefore impress his ear as perfectly natural, regardless of the ancient and idiomatically foreign melodic material to which they have been applied. Furthermore, the listener's judgment is bound to be somewhat influenced by the fact that Palestrina's music, created almost four hundred years ago, sounds sufficiently old and "churchy" to him as it is. This is to be expected of an individual who, like the average auditor, has lost his sense of historical perspective to a considerable degree and therefore usually does not notice the tremendous difference between the musical "churchiness" of the VIth and XVIth centuries. Finally, the modern listener has not yet been given a fair chance to compare the tertian harmonic interpretation of Gregorian melodies with well organized quartal interpretations, since our knowledge of quartal harmony, applied to the chant, has been limited so far to the largely tentative attempts of mediæval composers who did not carry their fundamentally well directed efforts to a full, logical conclusion.

Their attempts, however, are worth examining closely. For they show that the quartal harmonic mentality is not a product of sheer theoretical speculation but an actual and perfectly justified and consistent harmonic outlook on a certain stage of musical development. Despite the tentative character of these harmonic attempts and the rhythmic mutilation of the Gregorian melodies to which they were applied, one may easily observe that they pointed to a dimly sensed but adequate system of quartal harmony. Unfortunately, through lack of sufficient technical knowledge, the system could not be fully evolved at the time. Armed with this technical knowledge now, however, we

may fulfill the mediæval hamonic aspirations retroactively. Starting with the fundamental harmonic principles embodied in the original mediæval classification of consonances and dissonances, we can now rather easily build a complete and well organized system of quartal harmony. This will show us how far the intuition of mediæval composers led them towards their ultimate goal—the system itself. And it will serve us when we seek to harmonize authentically, and with the rhythms restored, the melodic material which these composers used in rhythmically distorted form.

THE PENTATONIC FOUNDATION OF GREGORIAN CHANT

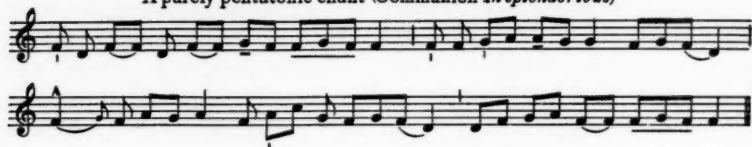
A system of quartal harmony has already been worked out by the writer along general lines (see footnote 4). With certain additions, it could easily be applied to practically any mediæval melodies, among them the Gregorian. Some examples of its application to the latter will be given in Part II.

The fact that this system of harmony, as has been claimed by the writer elsewhere, is linked to the pentatonic scale, does not prevent its application to mediæval music. For it has been frequently observed that a number of Gregorian melodies, and particularly certain individual and sometimes rather extensive passages within them, have a definitely pentatonic structure. That is, they exclude the two semitones from the regular diatonic scale. Furthermore, many Gregorian compositions betray their pentatonic origin through characteristic opening phrases of a purely pentatonic nature (usually sung by the cantor alone). These produce an impression of being "principal themes" and are sometimes subsequently developed on a six- or seven-tone basis. One finds a still greater abundance of the so-called "trichordal" motives—the nuclei of pentatonic formations. These are composed of three notes within the interval of a perfect fourth and contain no semitones. Thus, C-D-F, D-F-G, G-A-C, A-C-D, as well as their various permutations and transpositions, used either consecutively or intermittently, are trichordal motives. A few quotations from the *Liber Usualis* will illustrate.⁹

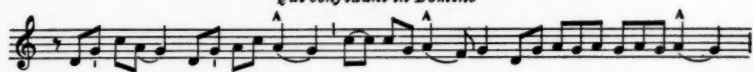
⁹ One of the earliest attempts to establish a connection between Gregorian chant and the pentatonic scale is found in *Die harmonikale Symbolik des Althertums*, Vol. I, by Albert Freiherr von Thimus (Cologne, 1868), pp. 309-310. A similar attempt was made in a more scholarly way by Hugo Riemann in his *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte*, Vol. I,² (Leipzig, 1905), pp. 62-74, and *Folkloristische Tonalitätsstudien* (Leipzig, 1916), and, quite recently, by Marius Schneider in his *Geschichte der Mehrstimmigkeit*, already cited.

Ex. 2

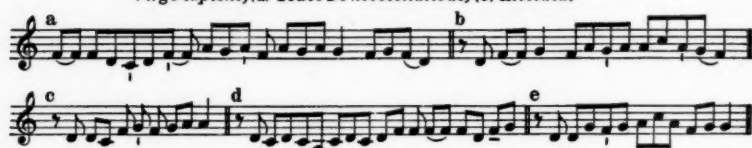
A purely pentatonic chant (Communion *In splendoribus*)



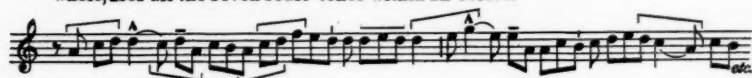
A detached pentatonic passage from the Tract
Qui confidunt in Domino



A few pentatonic opening "themes" from various chants:
(a) Introit *Omnes gentes*; (b) *Alleluia*; (c) Antiphon *Hæc est*
Virgo sapiens; (d) Tract *De necessitatibus*; (e) *Alleluia*.



Trichordal passages (marked —) in the Gradual *Qui sedes* which, on the whole, uses all the seven scale-tones within an octave.



Still another important piece of evidence should be taken into account in determining the true scalar basis of mediæval music. We refer to the *quilisma*, the symbol for which is today generally believed to have indicated the sounding, within a minor third, of a very light and transient ornamental tone. It has never been noted, to the best of the writer's knowledge, that, in the overwhelming majority of liturgical melodies containing quilismas, the symbol falls either on E or B or both. And these, as will readily be observed, are precisely the notes that fill the two characteristic gaps (D-F and A-C) of the ordinary pentatonic scale. (This scale, with the gaps unfilled, lies at the foundation of all the illustrations, except the last, presented in Ex. 2.) We will give more complete data concerning the actual distribution of the quilismas in the Gregorian compositions, in Part II of this article. But, in the meantime, one cannot fail to observe the striking resemblance between the sound-

ing of the transient ornamental tone and the practice of the Chinese who, for centuries, have been filling each of the two minor thirds of their pentatonic scale with a grace-note or a light passing-tone called *piên* (literally: "deviating tone"). They have explicitly corroborated the practice in their theoretical writings. A similar "filling in" of the two minor thirds with light ornamental tones may be observed also in the musical performances of many other nations that use the pentatonic scale, even though they have evolved no definite theories in which the practice has been recognized.

In view of these facts, the writer ventures the hypothesis that the rather puzzling and much discussed liturgical quilismas originally represented nothing but the two "*piên*-tones" of early Occidental music, which was based on the very same scale (5+2) as was the music of the Chinese.¹⁰ The great antiquity of the quilisma, which served as one of the earliest ornamental devices both in Byzantine and Latin church music, seems to furnish additional, even if indirect, evidence in favor of our hypothesis. For, as far as Occidental liturgical music is concerned, melodies of a frankly pentatonic nature (in which *piên*-tones—quilismas—are apt to make their first appearance) could have been extensively used only in the very distant past.¹¹ There are many other bits of evidence pointing to the basic and functional identity of the quilisma and the *piên*-tone (with an immaterial difference in the manner of their vocal production), and these will be submitted gradually in the course of the following discussion.

The term quilisma, which is derived from the Greek *κύλισμα*, implying an "action of rolling," admits apparently of a rather broad interpretation with regard to the function of the thing it represents. It is suggestive, however, of a *portamento*-like spanning of the gaps found in the ancient musical scale, *i.e.* of the two minor thirds of the pentatonic. But, whatever may have been the nature of the "rolling," there is nothing in the term to indicate that the insertion of a *piên*-tone was

¹⁰ The formula 5+2 is adopted by the writer to designate a scale that comprises five regular and two auxiliary tones within an octave. It has been given the name of *infra-diatonic* scale, which implies that it preceded our present diatonic scale historically and somewhat resembles the latter in structure in spite of its having a smaller tonal scope. The functions of the two auxiliary tones, or "*piên*-tones," of this scale (5+2) are the same as those of the five chromatic tones of our present scale (7+5). We may note, incidentally, that the composite term "*piên*-tone" was coined and introduced by Hugo Riemann, though not in connection with the quilisma.

¹¹ In his treatise, *Die germanischen Neumen als Schlüssel zum altchristlichen und gregorianischen Gesang* (Frankfurt a/M., 1923, p. 58), Oskar Fleischer expressed the opinion that the quilisma is probably at least as old as the earliest acute and grave accents of the ancient Greeks, if not older.

obligatory whenever the passage from one member of a minor third to the other had to be made. Therefore, so far as the etymological meaning of "quilisma" is concerned, we feel warranted in believing that the *pièn*-tone could be either produced or omitted at will. And we feel warranted in believing also that, if produced, it could even be slightly decorated by a brief melisma.

In view of the latitude left by the very term—selected by the ancient scholars surely not without reason—there may be justification for surmising that the interpolation of the *pièn*-tones was, in the early days, optional with the performers, who were allowed to exercise their own artistic judgment. It is not impossible moreover that, as often enough happens under similar circumstances, free choice on the part of the performers led to a divergence of opinion with regard to æsthetic values. The *pièn*-tones may have been viewed by one "school" as desirable, by another as superfluous.

Such a conjecture is offered as a possible clue to the hidden causes of a controversy that has occupied certain authorities on Byzantine music. Some have considered the quilisma a *tone sign*, as it is in the music of the Latin church, while others have seen in it merely an "aphonous" or *mute sign*, belonging to the cheironomic indications of measure. While these authorities express radically different opinions, they may in reality be referring unawares to two different aspects of a single ancient practice, one of which called for the actual production of the *pièn*-tone whenever a quilisma appeared in the musical text, while the other called for its omission. The readjustment that would be required in the rhythmical flow of the original melody, by the latter form, is perhaps responsible for the reference to measure in the "aphonous" interpretation.¹²

The function of the Occidental quilisma, then, was possibly double. It may, to repeat, have served in actual practice both as a tone sign and a mute sign, depending on whether the two auxiliary tones of the scale 5+2 were produced or omitted in performance. The probability of the double function will appear greater when we again turn to the music of the Far East. There, even at present, Chinese performers are usually allowed either to produce or omit the two grace-notes at their own dis-

¹² Dom André Mocquereau, who described the various and seemingly conflicting conceptions of the quilisma in his *Nombre musical grégorien* (Tome I, p. 398) did not see any feasible way of reconciling them. The problem appears easily solved, however, if the sign is interpreted in the light of the *pièn*-tone theory.

cretion. For this reason, the two characters representing the *pièns* are placed at the beginning of the music (somewhat as a key signature heads ours) to insure the recognition, during performance, of the symbols appearing in the musical text. It is certainly not unnatural that these two characters should have been referred to in common practice as "mute signs," when the *pièns* were definitely intended to be omitted by the performers throughout a piece. The omission may even have been compulsory on certain occasions. In fact, during several historical periods the use of the two *pièns* was rigidly prohibited by the Chinese authorities. Despite the prohibition, however, the *pièns* eventually won their way back among the great mass of Chinese musicians. And, in addition, the performers began to interpolate the same sort of grace-notes or light passing-tones (possibly under different technical names) between tones other than those forming the minor thirds of the pentatonic scale.¹³

From the present situation in Gregorian chant, it would seem as if certain events, similar to those in Chinese musical life, may have occurred in ancient Occidental practice, after the quilisma (as a tone sign) had long been more or less freely executed, whether in its original form or with some florid excrescences.¹⁴ One may well imagine that the quilisma—especially as decorated—eventually shared the lot of the melodic embellishments suppressed by Church authorities during their sporadic "purgings" of the liturgical chant from a too licentious but persistently reappearing ornamentation. As time passed, quilismas were apparently restored within minor thirds and were subsequently applied, in limited measure, even to other intervals of the original pentatonic scale. The resulting extension would explain the occasional appearance of quilismas elsewhere than within the "gaps" of minor thirds

¹³ See, for instance, the Chinese phonograms (Nos. 3, 5, 9) in Erich Fischer's *Beiträge zur Erforschung der chinesischen Musik* (Leipzig, 1910).

¹⁴ Dom Mocquereau, *Op. cit.*, mentions Franck Choisy, who allegedly believes that the Byzantine quilisma should be regarded as a melismatic sign representing a group of notes in a melody. Here again, there is no inconsistency with the "*pièn*-tone" interpretation of the quilisma. Its original form may well have been enriched ornamentally in Byzantine chant (even if superfluously, from the purely musical standpoint), as time went on. Some sort of enrichment, though of a different nature, was probably not foreign to Latin church music either. A drawn-out execution of the quilisma is described by A. Dechevrens, *Ornements du chant grégorien* (*Sammelbände der internationalen Musikgesellschaft*, Vol. 14, Part 3, pp. 339-343, Leipzig, 1913), and Robert Lach, *Studien zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der ornamentalen Melopöie* (Leipzig, 1913), pp. 269 ff. Lach also gives some worth while hints with regard to the hybrid nature of the quilisma, which was apparently regarded as a *portamento*-like ornament by certain mediæval writers, and as a light wavering tone by others (pp. 270-1).

which, however, contain by far the greater number of them in all existing manuscripts.¹⁵

EFFECTS OF THE MISCONSTRUED QUILISMA

Unawareness, on the part of musical scholars, of the possible identity of quilismas and *pièn*-tones is doubtless largely responsible for the traditional theoretical misinterpretation of the scalar foundation of certain mediæval melodies. As we already know (*cf.* p. 181), many Gregorian compositions contain passages rich in "trichordal" motives and other characteristics pointing unambiguously to pentatonic origins. Yet since these compositions make extensive use, in their remaining portions, of six and seven tones within an octave, they have been generally looked upon as representative hexatonic and heptatonic (diatonic) specimens of Gregorian chant.

A considerably smaller number of Gregorian melodies would be so regarded if sufficient attention were paid to an important fact: In the vast majority of old manuscripts, a number of quilismas were deliberately changed by mediæval scribes into ordinary notes, intended for the representation of the regular scale-tones only.¹⁶ It is immediately

¹⁵ The intervals within which the quilisma is sometimes found, aside from the minor third, are the *major third* and *perfect fourth*. It occupies the central position within the former, thus: F(G)A, G(A)B, C(D)E. Within the latter, it is usually closer to the upper note, being separated from it either by a whole tone, as in E(G)A, or by a semitone, as in C(E)F and G(B)C. The instances in which a semitone is not produced at all are the furthest removed from the original function of the quilisma. The series E(G)A is a notable example. Quilismas within major thirds, though likewise forming no semitones, may still be psychologically akin to those within minor thirds. For the two varieties of third are not as different musically in the pentatonic scale as they are in the diatonic. (Major and minor thirds are acoustically equalized in the seven-tone temperament of the Siamese, and yet the pentatonic scale, on which their music is based, does not lose its essential characteristics.) Where the quilisma and one of the notes outlining a fourth produce a semitone, we may well be confronted with one of the original forms of the Occidental *pièn*-tone practice. For an organic connection with the semitone (inevitable within minor thirds) is one of the most characteristic features of the quilisma. This is the feature, in fact, that distinguishes the quilisma from all other ornaments in the liturgical chant (since they may occur at any point in the scale), and at the same time brings it close to the Chinese conception of the *pièn*. The organic connection between the quilisma and the semitone, which may be observed already in the oldest church accents and in the Lektion notation, is pointed out by Oskar Fleischer in his *Neumenstudien* (Leipzig, 1895), Vol. 1, p. 107, and upheld by R. Lach (*Op. cit.*, p. 270).

¹⁶ According to Peter Wagner, only the German manuscripts preserved the proper representation of the quilismas. Other Codices either changed them into simple notes or suppressed them altogether. See his *Einführung in die gregorianischen Melodien* (Leipzig, 1912), Vol. 2, p. 151-2. It is interesting to note that, even in the supposedly model performances of Gregorian music by the Solesmes monks, the quilismas, found in their own printed editions of the melodies, are today executed as regular scale-tones, if one may judge the otherwise superb performances of these monks from the available phonograph records.

evident that, with the faulty changes, many pentatonic melodies, which had one or two extraneous tones notated by quilismas, were transformed visually into pseudo-hexatonic and pseudo-heptatonic melodies. With the passing of time, some of these have largely, if not altogether, lost their original musical meaning, owing to the corruption of the notation and the consequently unauthentic interpretations.

The metamorphosis evidently occurred in the *descending* passages first, long before its deteriorating effect could be generally recognized and successfully checked. This is proved by the great scarcity of the *quilisma descendens*¹⁷ in all extant manuscripts. It is indicated also by the comparatively greater number of regular scale-tones employed (through elimination of the quilismas) in the descending passages of most Gregorian melodies. These, in fact, are the passages that often produce the false impression of being completely diatonic, while the ascending passages tend to display a true pentatonic structure which, moreover, sometimes stands out most prominently.

Unlike the now almost obsolete *quilisma descendens*, the *quilisma ascendens* was saved, to a considerable extent, from the hands of mediæval "revisers" at a time when its decline was already well under way. The following opening phrase from the Respond *Amicus meus* will show how the *quilisma ascendens* fills in certain minor thirds occurring in a melody in which we may easily recognize the familiar pentatonic "gaps" D-F and A-C. The example will also show how the quilisma is replaced by the ordinary notes E and B in descending minor thirds, and how it thus contributes to the misleading conditions that cause the "diatonic" construction of Gregorian music to be taken for granted. The true scalar basis of our example is clearly revealed, however, not only by the characteristic distribution of the (properly understood) quilismas, but also by the frankly pentatonic passage incorporated in it, extending from the lower C to the half bar. It will be noticed, incidentally, that one of the quilismas, near the end of the phrase, is placed within a *major* third. Such an occurrence is comparatively rare and has already been accounted for in a general way (see foot-note 15).

¹⁷ The two Latin sub-terms—*ascendens* and *descendens*—attached to *quilisma* merely signify that the ornament has been inserted within an ascending or descending interval.

Ex. 3¹⁸

Perhaps the *quilisma descendens* declined before the *quilisma ascendens* since it is apparently the earlier of the two and was therefore likely to precede the latter in the completion of its "life-cycle."

It might indeed be expected that the "filling in" with quilismas would have begun first in descending progressions. For it is at such points of physical relaxation that the voice tends to span the larger intervals in *portamento* fashion and thus pave the way for the appearance within them of light passing- or *pièn*-tones. This, in fact, is what happens in European folk-song in general.¹⁹ And it is only natural that Gregorian chant, a live melodic material, should have been subjected to the same organic laws of tonal evolution that govern the spontaneous manifestations of a "free" folk-song. Moreover, in addition to drawing upon Hebrew and Greek sources, the early melodies of the Roman church doubtless assimilated a certain number of local folk-loristic elements.

The first appearance of the *pièn*-tones in *ascending* progressions, in which the voice exerts some sort of effort and therefore does not naturally resort to the *portamento* device, probably took place much later than in the descending progressions, and was possibly an imitation of the vocal practice already shown by them. (The very highest range, in which an ascending voice may tend to glide, was not used in the chant.)

¹⁸ In modern transcriptions of Gregorian chant, an inverted mordent is placed above or below a note to be treated as a quilisma. This modern sign has been chosen probably because its zigzag shape somewhat resembles the undulatory form of the quilisma symbol found in mediæval manuscripts. It should be remembered, however, that the musical meaning of the quilisma has nothing in common with that of the modern "shake." While the proper vocal execution of the former is rather obscurely described by the old Latin writers, it does not seem to have closely resembled that of the latter. Extensive quotations from the Latin writers, with reference to the vocal execution of the quilisma, are assembled in the *Studien über das Quilisma*, by Cölestin Vivell (*Gregorianische Rundschau*, Graz, November, 1905, p. 162 ff.), and are reprinted by Dom Mocquereau, *Op. cit.*, pp. 402-3.

¹⁹ In his article, "Folk-song," in the Introductory Volume of the "Oxford History of Music," A. H. Fox Strangways says (p. 174): "The diatonic modes found in Europe . . . are[, in reality,] pentatones—that is, a series of five 'strong' notes with two weak notes to fill the spaces, and . . . in proportion as folk-song is genuine . . . , there is a tendency to fill in these spaces in the descent rather than in ascent."

With the passing of the golden age of plainsong (c. A.D. 1000) and the approach of the period of decadence, the subtle difference between the vocal production of the regular scale-tones and of the *pièn*-tones must have begun to fade away. The difference probably disappeared much as it began, first (and perhaps more rapidly) in the descending progressions, and thereafter in the ascending. Under the new conditions, the graphic representation of *pièn*-tones by means of quilismas was bound to be looked upon as superfluous by some practical musicians, and they apparently did not hesitate to make the next fateful move and "amend" existing manuscripts. Hence the deliberate changing of some of the written quilismas into ordinary notes—probably in the latter part of the Middle Ages (cf. p. 186).

It is possible also that, in the very early manuscripts, the two *pièn*-tones may often have been written down *originally and deliberately* in the same style neumes as were used for ordinary notes, rather than in quilismas, when it was self-evident, in characteristic and familiar melodic passages, that their use was expected of the singers. This would be quite in keeping with the practice and frame of mind of mediæval musicians, as is shown by their attitude, even at an early period, towards B-flat, and at a much later period towards the chromatic alterations of *musica ficta*. It will be recalled that an accidental was ridiculed as a *signum asininum* in this music, when a composer was unwary enough to write one at a place where its use was obvious to the performer from the musical context.

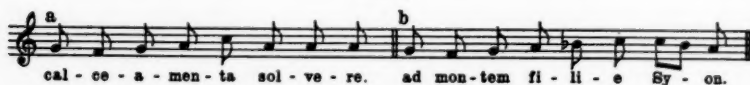
OTHER CAUSES OF THEORETICAL MISINTERPRETATION

The history of the quilisma in liturgical music, hypothetically restored by us from scattered evidence preserved by means of mediæval notation, literary references, *etc.*, will be supplemented, when we touch upon the problem of Gregorian modality, by certain very suggestive statistics. Then, the part played by the decaying quilisma in the growth of the erroneous attribution of the basically pentatonic melodies to the hexatonic and heptatonic systems, will also be more thoroughly understood. In the meantime, we shall discuss briefly certain other causes that have likewise contributed towards the theoretical misinterpretation of the melodies.

First comes the adapting of a single tune to different texts. Adaptation was a common practice from the very early stages of mediæval music. In the process, the intervals of a melody (among them the fate-

ful minor thirds) were sometimes filled in with ordinary notes where none occurred before. We shall not treat the subject at length, but shall simply present two versions of the same antiphonal fragment, set to different words. It will be immediately clear from the example how a "gapped" melody (a), characteristic of the pentatonic scale, is transformed into a quasi-diatonic passage (b) because of an extra syllable provided by a new text.

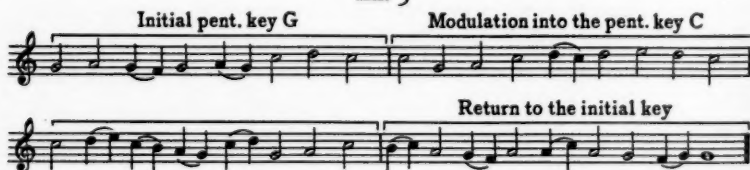
Ex. 4



Second comes modulation. A number of pentatonic liturgical melodies have traditionally, but erroneously, been interpreted as "diatonic," because Western European scholarship has usually failed to recognize that they contain transitions, or even full modulations, from one pentatonic key to another. If we imagine a tune based on two consecutive pentatonic series—such as C-D-F-G-A and D-E-G-A-B—and modulating from one to the other, we shall have an example which, on the whole, makes use of all seven degrees of the diatonic scale. It would, however, be no more correct to call it diatonic than it would be to describe as chromatic a plain C-major diatonic melody modulating temporarily to B-flat minor, and thus using up all twelve tones of the chromatic scale. Yet such errors are constantly being made in the realm of mediæval liturgical music, in connection with the theoretical interpretation of pentatonic melodies.

As an illustration, we may take the well known and ancient *Veni Creator Spiritus*. The structural analysis of this hymn was offered about half a century ago by a learned Russian scholar, who is scarcely known outside his native land.²⁰

Ex. 5



²⁰ We refer to A. F. Famintsin and his *Drevniaya Indo-Kitaishkaya Gamma v Azi i Evrope* (The Ancient Indo-Chinese Scale in Asia and Europe), St. Petersburg, 1889. Strangely enough, this unique work has never been translated into any foreign language. It was one of its chief aims to prove that the pentatonic scale represents a universal pre-diatonic foundation in all the

The reader will easily observe that the opening section lies within the range of the pentatonic series F-G-A-C-D, that the two middle sections modulate into the series G-A-C-D-E, and that the final section returns to the original series. G and C serve as the respective tonics of the two series. B which occurs twice in the latter part of the hymn is justly regarded, by the scholar referred to, as an unessential tone. In certain versions of the hymn, B appears more than twice and is sometimes even replaced by a B-flat, while the core of the melody remains virtually the same. This is additional proof, in our opinion, of the transitory character of the B (or B-flat) which, it will be observed, may be regarded as a "*pièn-tone*" in either of the above two pentatonic series. These, together with an unessential B, embrace all the tones of the heptatonic series F-G-A-B-C-D-E. This circumstance and the fact that the tune opens and closes with G have been traditionally regarded as sufficient grounds for attributing the entire hymn to the diatonic Mixolydian mode. But it will be seen that such a conclusion is hardly consistent with the views expressed above.

The *third* cause to be discussed is one already touched upon incidentally—ornamentation or "floridization." It is in the very nature of vocal ornamentation that it should proceed stepwise most of the time and should fill in any gaps that may occur in a melody. Gregorian ornamentation ran true to form. Among the gaps it filled in were, naturally, the characteristic minor thirds of the pentatonic ground-scale wherever they had not already been bridged by quilismas. No doubt the most "appealing" versions of the ornamented melodies, created at a comparatively early mediæval period, were used more or less steadily in place of the original melodies. In fact, some of the latter, neglected for centuries, may never have come down to us in their unadorned form. This will indeed seem quite likely when we recall that mediæval musical notation did not appear until the VIIIth or IXth century, whereas melodic ornamentation was practised almost from the very inception of Western chant, that is, for several centuries before, as the much embellished Ambrosian melodies—earlier than the Gregorian—indicate.

music of the world. Among other musical material, Famintsin touches upon the mediæval hymns of the Latin Church, as used by various European nations. He includes the *Veni Creator*, which he has taken from K. S. Meister's *Das katholische deutsche Kirchenlied* (Bd. 1, p. 439), 1862. We preserve the rhythm of the hymn as there given adapted to a German text, having only reduced the time-values. The *Veni Creator* has been ascribed to various authors, among them Charlemagne, St. Ambrose, St. Gregory the Great, and Hrabanus Maurus, all within the IVth-IXth centuries. Its real authorship, however, is still unknown.

The following brief fragment from the Gradual of the Mass for the feast of St. Peter and St. Paul will give a fair idea of what may have occurred to scores of mediæval melodies traditionally regarded as originally "diatonic" music. According to D. Jerome Romero (17 —?), it comes down from VIIth-century Spain and was sung in simple form on week-days and in ornamented form on holy days. The simple version, which is presumably the earlier of the two, quite plainly clings to the pentatonic scale (only the note C is missing). The ornamented version, on the contrary, is "diatonicised" to such an extent that the original melody, which is incorporated in it, can hardly be recognized. (We may disregard, for present purposes, the probably inadequate rhythmic representation of this fragment.)

Ex. 6

(From F. J. Fétis, *Histoire générale de la musique*, Vol. 4, p. 268.)

The image displays two staves of musical notation in bass clef. The top staff is labeled 'Original melody' and contains the lyrics 'con - sti'. The bottom staff is labeled 'Ornamented version' and contains the lyrics 'tu - es e os'. The ornamented version features a more complex, stepwise melodic line compared to the simpler, more direct line of the original melody. The notation includes various note values and rests, with the ornamented version showing more frequent note changes.

There is a *fourth* cause that probably shares the responsibility for the present "stepwise" appearance of many liturgical melodies. It is, however, of a different nature, since it is not concerned with purely musical ornamentation. We refer to the manifold inflections of speech intonation, with their characteristic vocal "gliding." They played an important part in the rendition of Gregorian chant and must have been easily distinguishable from the generally stably pitched and purely musical (intervallic) elements. Having come down to us only in the written form of neumes or notes, however, these originally *continual* and vague inflections of classic Latin are apt to create the false impression of having been closely distributed and definitely pitched musical tones, such as we are accustomed to. As a result, they tend to increase the confusion already existing concerning the scale foundation of Gregorian chant.

There are indications that some mediæval musicians tried to repre-

sent these fluid elements of speech intonation in terms of definite musical pitches and that, in doing so, they refused to be content with mere semitones as their smallest intervals and resorted to still smaller tonal fractions, loosely referred to, at present, as "quarter-tones."²¹

We have aimed to show that all the above causes must have contributed to the theoretical misinterpretation and often to a fairly appreciable transformation of the pentatonic chant. If one takes all the causes into account, one is forced to conclude that even what has remained of the original and perfectly obvious Gregorian pentatonicism presents an imposing and comparatively large body of evidence. That any such evidence should survive at all against odds as formidable and unfavorable as those we have described seems, on hasty consideration, nothing short of a miracle. The pentatonic elements must have been very strong indeed, if not all-prevailing, in the original Gregorian melodies; they must have been not incidental but fundamental to the music; and they must also have been very deeply rooted in the tradition of the pre-Christian music from which Gregorian chant derived. Ancient Greek and Hebrew music are generally assumed to have furnished the rock-foundation of this tradition. It will be in keeping, therefore, if we set forth, at this point, certain considerations with regard to the influence they may have had upon the formation of Gregorian chant.

ON THE PARENTAGE OF GREGORIAN MUSIC

So far as we may judge from the references of Greek and Latin writers, such as Aristoxenus, Nicomachus, Plutarch, and Aristides Quintilianus, the frequent *practical use* of the pentatonic scale in ancient Greek music (before as well as after the diatonic, chromatic, and enharmonic formulations of the theorists) may be taken for granted.²² But their allusions to an unmistakably *quartal harmonic mentality* (already accounted for on p. 176) has an even profounder significance than the references to practice. For genuine pentatonic melodic formations and quartal harmonic conceptions appear to be most intimately inter-

²¹ See Joseph Gmelch, *Die Vierteltonstufen im Messtonale von Montpellier* (Eichstätt, 1911). It is not impossible that the mediæval use of "quarter-tones" had something in common with the temporary and apparently not quite successful "enharmonic" practice of ancient Greece. The fact that the Greeks confined the practice to vocal music would indeed seem to suggest that they intended it expressly for the purpose of representing the subtle and variable inflections of the native "tone-language" in more or less close and definite intervallic equivalents.

²² A fair amount of information regarding Greek pentatonicism may be found in Riemann's *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte*, Vol. 1, pp. 48 ff., 60, 166, 235, and in his *Folkloristische Tonalitätsstudien*, pp. 1-2, 34, 39; also in *Die griechische Instrumentalnotenschrift* by Curt Sachs (*Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, VI, [1924], p. 300), and in Famintsin, *Op. cit.*, pp. 87-101.

related in the evolution of tonal language in general,²³ and we may therefore conclude that the *practical use* was not an artificial product obtained by deliberately omitting the semitones from an already existing diatonic system, but a medium of expression naturally evolved and spontaneously used.

One point, however, remains rather puzzling. This is the failure of the Greek theorists to strike upon the Chinese idea of the independent 5+2 system which, in view of the pentatonic evidence referred to, would seem to fit the inner meaning of ancient Greek music better than their mathematically constructed diatonic system. Searching for the reasons behind this failure or, at least, behind the preference given to the diatonic system by the Greek theorists (should the idea of a pentatonic system not have escaped them altogether), one is driven to the following assumption.

It is quite possible that the music of the ancient Greeks became systematized theoretically after they had already widely adopted the filling in of their basically pentatonic melodies with the two *pièn*-tones in the usual manner. And it is not at all improbable that, following the general laws of melodic transformation discussed on pp. 186-93, the *pièn*-tones became so firmly engrafted upon the pentatonic stock and were used with such utter freedom in descending progressions that, on the whole, melodic composition outwardly gave the impression of being diatonic. Thus, it would have tended to suggest to the Greeks a "straight" *diatonic*, rather than a more intricate *pentatonic*, systematization of musical scales. And even though, from a purely theoretical standpoint, the former might still have been less appropriate than the latter, it may, conceivably, have offered certain practical advantages, in view of the inadequate notation, rudimentary methods of ear-training, and technically undeveloped instruments of the time.

The very fact that the Greek diatonic scales were constructed in descending order—in itself a puzzle not hitherto satisfactorily solved—seems to support our assumption indirectly. A theorist who wishes to be understood by the average practical musician often draws analogies from everyday life. For example, he may explain a scale as a "tone-ladder" because both tones and ladders are familiar to everybody from daily experience. Similarly, he is likely to build what he considers a

²³ A few psychological considerations with regard to the scale-and-harmony interrelation may be found in the writer's paper entitled "A Revised Conception of Tonality" (*Proceedings of the Music Teachers National Association*, 1935, p. 109 ff.).

complete scale (*i.e.* a heptatonic one if he is an ancient Greek) in descending rather than in ascending order, if, in the melodies everybody knows and sings, it is in the descending progressions that the *full* supply of available tones are found the more often and with the greater tendency towards equal rank.

Looking for other possible reasons for the failure of the Greek theorists to build a pentatonic system before the diatonic, one should not overlook the fact that they made all acoustical calculations with the aid of the monochord. The purely technical construction of this instrument was such that it was apt to lead the Greeks to the interval of a semitone (and, with it, to the diatonic formations) *before* they were likely to reach all the regular tones making up the pentatonic scale. Had the Greek theorists availed themselves of pipes for their computations, as did the Chinese for instance, they would most probably have obtained the pentatonic scale first, and the semitones afterwards.

While the historical references concerning certain phases of ancient Greek music may thus prove valuable in affording us some sort of clue to its true scalar basis, the actual fragments of this music that have come down to us (mostly in mutilated condition) are far less important as sources of evidence. For, in order that we may form an adequate idea of the scales underlying the fragments, it is not enough for us to have the mere series of notes employed in them. We should also know the exact method of their employment, including especially the relative importance attached to notes of one type as compared with notes of another (*i.e.* regular as against auxiliary scale-tones). This, obviously, cannot be ascertained today from the ancient notation alone.

In this connection we are perhaps more fortunate in the field of Hebrew music. A small portion, in the form of a living liturgical practice of modern Jews, has apparently been preserved from ancient times, at least to an extent sufficient for the purposes of our present discussion. We refer to those few variants of the biblical cantillation which, oddly enough, are still based largely on the pentatonic scale in certain scattered Jewish communities, even though the melodic aspect of almost all the rest of the liturgical music is frankly diatonic and even diatono-chromatic. The bulk of this remainder—consisting of non-biblical material—has, like Jewish secular song, been immensely *influenced* by the music of the nations among whom the Jews have lived in their age-long dispersion. As a result, it forms a sharp contrast with the pentatonic cantillations of the Bible which, allegedly, were once a force *influencing*

the music of Christian civilization. We may note incidentally that, besides displaying scalar similarity, some of these biblical cantillations, as well as a few other Hebrew liturgical motives, bear a striking melodic resemblance to a number of Gregorian melodies even at present—after centuries in which the two bodies of chant have been strictly separated and have inevitably undergone individual transformation.²⁴

It is doubtful whether the ancient Hebrews developed any musical theory of their own. If they did, no trace of it remains. There are a few musical terms in the Hebrew Psalter—such as *aiioleth*, *ioneth*, etc.—but these apparently are Orientalized equivalents of *Aeolian*, *Ionian*, and other names of familiar Hellenic modes. The equivalents served to indicate those theoretical scales of the Greeks, in the light of which the melodies to be used for individual Psalms were to be interpreted, even though the melodies in themselves appear to have been basically foreign to the scales. The appropriation of the terms strongly suggests that, in the field of musical theory, the ancient Hebrews availed themselves of the Greek system, at least in part. If they did, they were very likely following a common course, since Greek music probably supplied theoretical formulations to most of the Mediterranean countries of antiquity. The live melodic material of Greece, however, seems to have been less an item of export than the theory. In fact, it seems to have been an item of import from the Orient, particularly Asia Minor.

We therefore cannot share the view, held by some,²⁵ that the use of Greek modal terminology by the ancient Hebrews indicates a strong Greek influence upon Hebrew melody itself. There is hardly any more ground for such a view than there would be, let us say, for the assump-

²⁴ On pentatonic biblical motives of the Oriental Jews dwelling in Persia, Morocco, and Yemen, see A. Z. Idelsohn, *Hebräisch-orientalischer Melodienschatz*, Vol. II, p. 26 (1922); on such motives among the German Jews of the XVIth century, see Herbert Loewenstein, *Eine pentatonische Bibelweise in der deutschen Synagoge* (*Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, XII [1930], 513); and on those of German Jews of the XIXth century, see Jacob Schönberg's thesis, *Die traditionellen Gesänge des israelitischen Gottendienstes in Deutschland* (Friedrich-Alexander Universität, Erlangen, 1926); a considerable number of pentatonic elements in the biblical cantillations of the modern Polish-Lithuanian Jews may be gathered from the musical examples in Solomon Rosowsky's essay "The Music of the Pentateuch" (*Proceedings of the Musical Association*, 60th Session, London, 1933-34, pp. 39-66), although the scale foundation of this material is not discussed by the author. On the influence of the ancient Hebrew cantillations upon Christian chant, see Franz Leitner, *Der gottdienstliche Volksgesang im jüdischen und christlichen Altertum* (1905), pp. 69-70, and "Religious Music," by René Aigran (London), pp. 13-14; also numerous quotations from various authors, ancient and modern, with regard to the possible Hebrew parentage of plainsong, in Lazare Saminsky, "The Music of the Ghetto and of the Bible" (New York, 1934), pp. 195-223.

²⁵ See, for instance, Rev. W. W. Longford, "Music and Religion" (London, 1918), pp. 35 and 40; also "The Gregorian Chant," by E. Borrel (*Pro Musica*, October, 1928, p. 19).

tion of a strong Teutonic influence upon the melodic creation of Slavic composers, because of the extensive use of German musical text-books in Russia. Even the claim that purely Greek melodies influenced Gregorian chant, though not wholly to be doubted, has to be regarded with considerable reservation. For modern scholarship has asserted that the mediæval modal system, admittedly of Greek origin, was an alien thing arbitrarily imposed upon the elastic and primitive Church melodies, and that they, in fact, suffered considerably from being made to conform to it.²⁶ Clearly, no Greek-influenced melodies could have suffered from being made to conform to a system of Greek origin. This, we feel, is rather telling, even if circumstantial, evidence that the *pre-dominant* influence upon mediæval melodies did not ensue from the Greeks. The only well attested alternative is that it therefore ensued from the Orientals. The latter were pre-eminently melodists, one of the most important elements of their song being a free coloratura, whereas the former were pre-eminently theorists and poets in the field of music, the principal element of their song being an impeccable declamation.

Failing to work out their own theories, the ancient Oriental peoples, including the Hebrews, apparently adopted certain portions from the Greek modal system which, though foreign and not quite suitable for their native melodies, was of practical use in a limited way. Apparently failing, in turn, to work out *its* theory, the mediæval church endeavored to adjust to each other the somewhat simplified Greek system and the melodies of the early Christians, who were largely converted Hebrews. We have no direct documentary evidence concerning the actual process of the adjustment. But, in view of the still prevailing misinterpretation of the scalar basis of mediæval melodies, our resorting to a certain amount of conservative speculation, in order to reconstruct this process, will not be out of place. We shall next try, therefore, to reason out, in the light of the foregoing discussion and within the frame of actual data, how the diatonic Greek system could have been wedded to the largely pentatonic melodies of the early Christian proselytes. And we shall try to determine what were the net gains and losses for Gregorian music, resulting from the awkward alliance.

²⁶ See "Theoretical Writers on Music up to 1400," by Dom Anselm Hughes, p. 120, and "Plainsong," by W. W. Frere, p. 148, both in the Introductory Volume of the "Oxford History of Music"; also "Gregorian Music" by Frere in Grove's Dictionary, Vol. II, p. 452 (New York, 1935), and Dom Dominic Johnner's "A New School of Gregorian Chant" (1925), p. 186. Regarding the possible influence of Greek music upon Gregorian chant, see F. A. Gevaert's *La Mélodie antique dans le chant de l'église latine* (Paris, 1895).

(To be continued)

NEW LIGHT ON "THE STAR SPANGLED BANNER"

By JOHN ATLEE KOUWENHOVEN and LAWTON M. PATTEN

THERE seems to be no doubt that Francis Scott Key really was standing on board ship, watching the first light of September 14, 1814, reveal the American flag. No one has succeeded in disproving the romantic inspiration which prompted him to write the words of what ultimately became our national anthem. The bombs were bursting in air over Fort McHenry all that night while the British detained him for fear that news of their surprise attack might leak out if he were permitted to return to land. Those who were in the fort were his friends, and we can imagine what it meant to him to find, after that blazing, crashing night, that "the flag was still there."

For years, however, there has been doubt on one point. Did Key intend his verses to be sung, and, if so, did he have any tune in mind? Various theories have been advanced: that Key's friend, Judge Nicholson, to whom he evidently showed the poem the next day, suggested the tune of "To Anacreon in Heaven"; that a "flute player named Durang" made the suggestion; and finally that the tune was familiar to Key himself and that he wrote the words to fit it. Oscar Sonneck, John Tasker Howard, and Joseph Muller, the three people who have studied the origin of our national songs most thoroughly, all agree that the latter theory is the most tenable.¹ Muller, whose study is the most recent, points to the great popularity of the air, which was composed for the jovial Anacreontic Society of London. The first adaptation of new words to the tune in America seems to have been "Song: For the glorious Fourteenth of July" which appeared in the "Columbian Songster," New York, 1797.² From 1797 to 1813, more than thirty other adaptations were written, including Robert Treat Paine's famous "Adams and Liberty," which was one of the most popular political songs in our history.³ Muller therefore agrees with Sonneck's theory that

¹ O. G. Sonneck, "The Star Spangled Banner," Washington, 1914; John Tasker Howard, "Our American Music," New York, 1930; Joseph Muller, "The Star Spangled Banner," New York, 1935.

² Muller, *Op. cit.*, p. 15.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 20.



FOR THE BALANCE.

MR. CROSWELL,

I have lately observed a number of poetical effusions, in imitation of Couper's "Moss," celebrating Mothers, Fathers, &c. As each has chosen his favorite topic, so have I mine. If the measure is not too much hackneyed, I wish you would insert the following eulogium to

MY BOTTLE.

LET others all their changes ring,
And tell whence choicest blessings spring;
I'll tune my lyre, and sweetly sing
My Bottle.

A father's or a mother's praise,
Are subjects fit for filial lays;
I, who have neither, pleas'd will raise
My Bottle.

The magic draught inspires my pen
To raise above the vulgar ken
I drink and write, then lift again
My Bottle.

When troubled with domestic strife,
A smoky lounge or scolding wife,
I take, to calm the ills of life,
My Bottle.

If due misfortune me befall,
And creditors imperious call,
Thy within my prison wall,
My Bottle.

When gout or rheum my limbs distress,
And doctors yield me no redress,
At every twinge I closer press
My Bottle.

In short, however I'm perplex'd,
By pains, or plagues, or losses vex'd,
To every ills shall be annex'd
My Bottle.

SILENUS.

SONG—TUNE, ANACREON.

[Prepared for, and sung by, a gentleman of Georgetown, at an entertainment given in honor of Capt. Stephen Devatur, jun. and Charles Stewart.]

WHEN the warrior returns from the battle afar
To the home and the country he has nobly defend-
ed,
Oh! warm be the welcome to gladden his ear,
And loud be the joy that his perils are ended!
In the full tide of song, let his name roll along
To the fast-flowing board let us gratefully throng,
Where mix with the olive the laurel shall weave,
And form a bright wreath for the brow of the brave.

COLUMBIAN: A band of thy brethren behind!
Who claim their reward in thy heart's warm in-
clination.

When thy cause, when thy honor urg'd onward the
bold,
In vain from'd the desert—in vain rag'd the o-
cean.

To a far distant shore—the battle's wild roar,
They rush'd, thy fair fame and thy rights to secure,
Then mix with the olive the laurel shall weave,
And form a bright wreath for the brow of the brave.

In the conflict fearless, each toll they endur'd
Till their foes sunk dismay'd from the war's de-
solation;

And pale beam'd the Crescent, its splendor obatur'd
By the light of the star-spangled flag of our nation,
Where each flaming star gleam'd a mirror of war,
And the turban'd heads bow'd to the terrible glare,
Then mix with the olive the laurel shall weave,
And form a bright wreath for the brow of the brave.

Our fathers, who stand on the summit of fame,
Shall exultingly bear, of her sons, the proud
story,
How their young bosoms glow'd with the patriot
flame.

How they fought, how they fell, in the blaze of
their glory.

How triumphant they rode o'er the wandering floor,
And strain'd the blue waters with anhel blood,
How mix with the olive the laurel shall weave,
And form a bright wreath for the brow of the brave.

Then welcome the warrior return'd from afar,
To the home and the country he so nobly defend-
ed.

Let the thanks due to valour now gladden his ear,
And loud be the joy that his perils are ended;
In the full tide of song, let his name roll along,
To the fast-flowing board let us gratefully throng,
Where mix with the olive the laurel shall weave,
And form a bright wreath for the brow of the brave.

Miscellany.

From the National Intelligencer.

TO THE EDITOR.

SIR,
THE late arrival in this city of a deputation of Cherokee chiefs having from their appearance excited considerable attention has induced the following statement and observations relating to that nation. To speak generally, the progress of the useful arts, variety of manufactures, and pursuits of agriculture is so great amongst these people as ought effectually to remove prejudices that formerly existed against the red men of America. A person travelling through the Cherokee country is agreeably surprised to find the cards and the spinning wheel in use in almost every family. They raise the cotton and the indigo, spin and dye the yarn, and weave it into handsome cloth, with which they clothe their families in a decent and comfortable manner in the habit of the white people. There is more than one thousand spinning wheels and upwards of one hundred looms in the Cherokee nation which are all in use with much industry. Amongst them are found silver smiths, blacksmiths, coopers, saddlers, tanners, shoe-makers, and wheelwrights; specimens of these manufactures may be seen at the house of Mr. Munn, in this city. These mechanics are principally self-taught; part of their tools are furnished by the public, and part by themselves; the plough and the hoe are in common use amongst them. By the assistance of some white men they make large quantities of salt petre, and powder, with which thousands of people are supplied at a much cheaper rate than formerly, and some can send out of their country to sell to the white people in Georgia and Tennessee. They have several great mills and saw mills. So far have they changed their hunt-

ing life for pursuits leading to civilization, and all this has been done since the year 1794, when there was not a pair of cards, spinning wheel or loom, or even a mechanic in their nation. They have large stocks of black cattle, horses and other domestic animals: They make some butter, and cheese of a good quality is made in a number of families. Since agriculture and the domestic arts have become the principal objects of pursuit their population has evidently increased.

There are now seven schools in their country where more than one hundred children are taught reading and writing, and some of them arithmetic. They are fast emerging from a state of barbarity to a state of improved and amiable society, and under the countenance and fostering hand of government will become useful citizens, and will contribute no inconsiderable portion to the strength of our country, to which they are becoming more and more attached from interest and affection. There has formerly existed an erroneous opinion, that the aborigines of this country could not be brought to a state of civilization. A great part of the Cherokees are now actually civilized; to fix the precise point where barbarity ceases and where civilization begins is perhaps impossible. Many of these people have considerable information and great degrees of manners: these are strong marks of civilization. It is not necessary to be required that every individual be well informed, and decent in manners before that society could be entitled to the appellation of civilized society. I do not know what considerable district of any country would be entitled to that appellation. The fact is, that the Cherokees have made considerable advances in civilization, the consideration of which will afford much satisfaction to the government, to the administration, and to the friends of man every where. It has been some expense to the government, but it has saved more expense. It has almost destroyed their thirst for war, which although it flattered the pride of the warrior, must if persisted in eventually terminate in their extinction; but in the revolution of events their destiny has been placed in the United States whose magnanimity it is presumed will not let them perish. I have several times visited the principal school which is under the patronage of the government; the progress of the children in reading and writing is equal to that of any other children of their age. The order of the school and decency of manners, evinces in the mind of the spectator, pleasing and affecting contemplation; it would wreat from the barbarous his ferocity, and evidence to the mind that it is not the color of the skin that designates the savage.

I am, respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

RETURN J. MEIGS.

City Washington, 20th
December, 1835.

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FOR 1836

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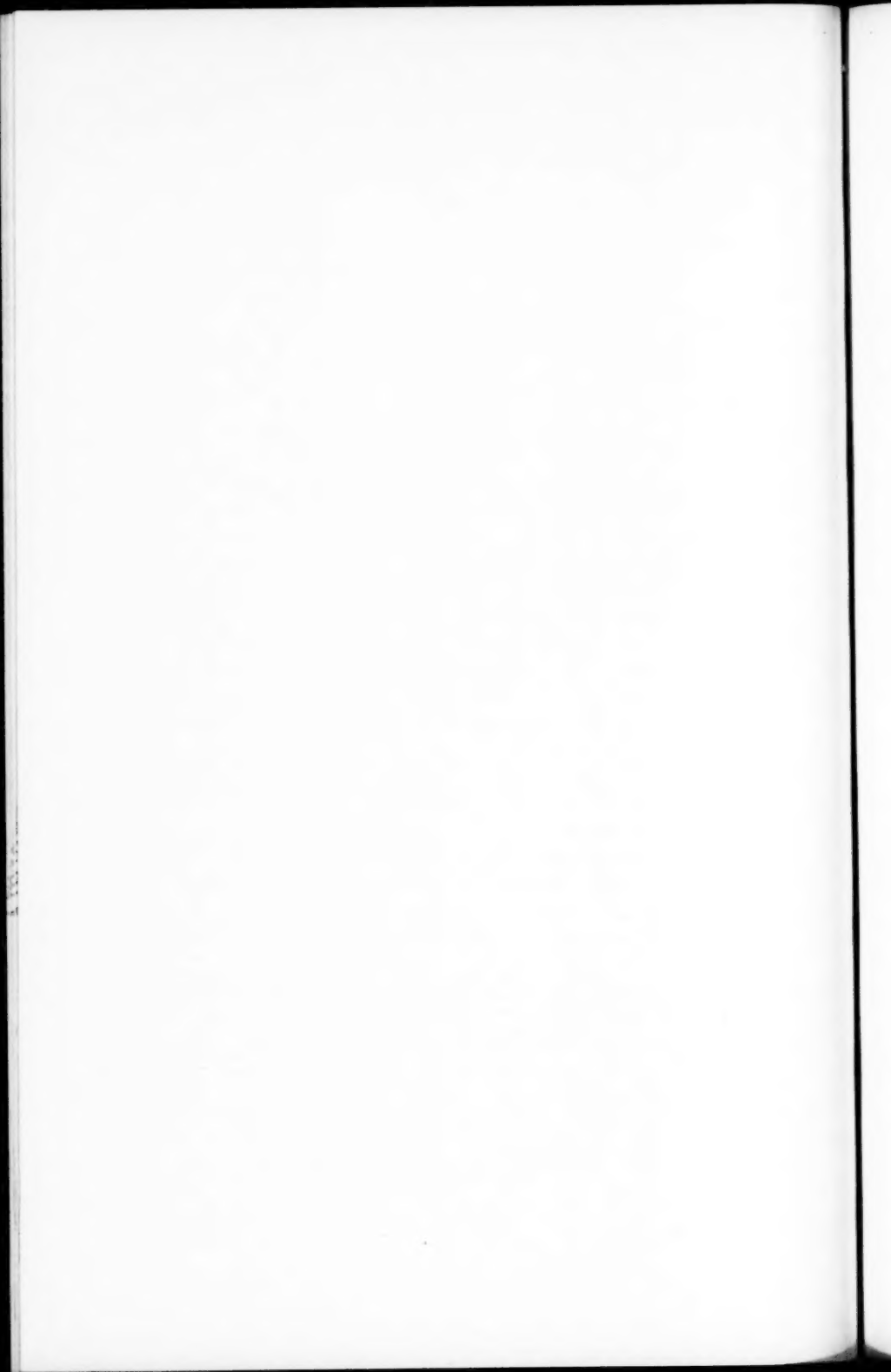
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Where printing in general is executed with elegance and accuracy.

Page 40 of "The Balance and Columbian Repository," Vol. V, No. 5 (Hudson, N. Y., February, 1836), containing verses composed by Francis Scott Key to the Tune, "Anacreon," before he had written "The Star Spangled Banner"



Key, when his imagination took fire from the bombardment of Fort McHenry, had either the meter and form of the words and air of "To Anacreon in Heaven" or one of its American offshoots in mind as a scaffold.⁴

As Key's latest biographer points out, there is, in a slim volume of "Poems of the Late Francis S. Key, Esq." (New York, 1857), a "Song" which, like the Fort McHenry verses, fits the Anacreontic tune. From evidence within the "Song," Weybright concludes that it was written by Key for some banquet in honor of Decatur "in the winter of 1804."⁵ He calls attention to similarity of phrases in it and in the "Star Spangled Banner," and observes that here is acceptable proof that Key had the tune in mind when he wrote our national anthem.

From recent investigation, Weybright's theory receives substantiation. The Decatur "Song" had appeared in print before 1857. In 1856, it was included in the Duyckincks' "Cyclopædia of American Literature" in the article on Key, with the statement that it was "now for the first time printed" from the author's manuscript, contributed by "the poet's son-in-law, Mr. Charles Howard, of Baltimore."⁶ Fortunately the Duyckincks were wrong about its being "for the first time printed." In "The Balance and Columbian Repository," Vol. V, No. 5, a newspaper published at Hudson, New York, on Tuesday the fourth of February, 1806, it appeared on page 40 with the following heading:

SONG.—TUNE ANACREON.

[Prepared for, and sung by, a gentleman of Georgetown, at an entertainment given in honour of Capt. Stephen Decatur, jun. and Charles Stewart.]

There follows the entire poem, five stanzas, all of which conclude with a couplet which rhymes "wave" and "brave," as in "The Star Spangled Banner." Stanza three, given below, contains several phrases which appear in the more famous song:

*In the conflict resistless, each toil they endure'd
Till their foes sunk dismay'd from the war's desolation;
And pale beam'd the Crescent, its splendor obscur'd
By the light of the star-spangled flag of our nation,
Where each flaming star gleam'd a meteor of war,
And the turban'd heads bow'd to the terrible glare,
Then mixt with the olive the laurel shall wave,
And form a bright wreath for the brow of the brave.*

⁴ Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 23.

⁵ Victor Weybright, "Spangled Banner," New York, 1935, pp. 145-148.

⁶ *Op cit.*, Vol. I, p. 663.

A careful search of contemporary newspapers fails to reveal the actual date of the "entertainment" for which Key wrote the song. "The Enquirer," published at Richmond, Friday, December 6, 1805, contains the following dispatch from Alexandria, dated December 2:

The U. States frigates Congress, Captain Decatur [*sic*], John Adams, captain Shaw, and brig Hornet, passed this town on Friday last, for the City of Washington.

So, depending on his luck with the winds, Decatur arrived in Washington November 29 or 30, 1805. On Saturday, November 30, "The Washington Federalist," published at Georgetown, displayed this notice:

The Gentlemen of George-Town are requested to meet this evening at 6 o'clock, P.M. at the Union Tavern, for the purpose of making necessary arrangements for a dinner in honor of our gallant countrymen, Capt. Stephen Decatur, jun. and Charles Stewart. Saturday, November 30th, 1805.

No mention of the dinner has been found in subsequent issues of "The Washington Federalist"⁷ or in the Washington, Richmond, Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, and Hudson papers of the period. On December 24, 1805, the "Federalist" reported that "Captain Decatur has arrived in Philadelphia, and on Wednesday last was waited on by the principal gentlemen of that city." It would thus appear that the Georgetown dinner, if it was held, must have taken place between December 1 and Wednesday, December 19, when the hero was being waited on in Philadelphia. The statement preceding the song in "The Balance and Columbian Repository" seems to imply that the dinner did occur.⁸

From this material it is possible to conclude with certainty that, when Key stood on deck "in the dawn's early light," September 14, 1814, it was the song he had written almost nine years before that gave form to his inspiration.

⁷ We are indebted to R. W. G. Vail, Librarian of the American Antiquarian Society, for his search through copies of "The Washington Federalist" from the first issue of December, 1805, through that of April 19, 1806, which issues were not available to us.

⁸ Weybright's guess that the song was written in 1804 is at least one year early.

MEDLÆVAL BYZANTINE MUSIC¹

By H. J. W. TILLYARD

THE MUSIC of the Eastern Orthodox Church in the Middle Ages, which is what I mean by Byzantine music, is clearly distinguished both from ancient Greek music and from the music of the Greek Church at the present day.

The early Christian hymn from Oxyrhynchus, probably dating from the fourth century, is in a Greek mode and in Greek notation; and its character proves, as Professor Mountford has pointed out, that Hebrew music cannot have been the sole origin from which the early Christian melodies were derived. Though our evidence for the early ages of church music is vague and scanty, it seems more than likely that the church inherited the Græco-Roman musical tradition, but incorporated Syrian and Hebrew elements as well, avoiding, however, the chromatic ornamentations of pagan musicians, which were regarded as meretricious and sinful. The modal system must be regarded as a simplification of ancient Greek theory.

St. John of Damascus (VIIIth cent.) may have been one of the earliest composers who wrote systematically in all the modes. Older hymns that did not fit exactly into the scheme may have been assigned to whatever mode their *finalis* seemed to indicate. In the early Middle Ages the Eastern and Western churches had virtually the same musical theory, as is shown by the Byzantine names of the Gregorian modes, and by the application, or rather misapplication of ancient Greek names, like Dorian and Phrygian, to both series. Both the Western and the Byzantine neumes are descended from the Ecphonetic notation, used to regulate the musical reading of the Scripture lessons.

This resemblance, however, does not help much in practice. For, at the earliest stage, neither the Byzantine nor the Gregorian neumes can be exactly deciphered: their meaning can be only partially inferred by comparison with later versions. And when we reach a definitely legible notation—the four-line staff in the West and the Round System in the

¹ A paper read before the Western New York Chapter of the American Musicological Society, May 16, 1936, by Gomer Ll. Jones, Commonwealth Fund Fellow at the Eastman School of Music from Cardiff, Wales.

East—, it is clear that each section has gone its own way and only a general likeness remains. This also applies to the Russian neumes. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries they seem to be almost a copy of the Byzantine. But when they reach the fully intelligible stage—namely the Late Sematic notation (or *Kryuki*, i.e. "Hooks")—, the melodies show the strongest divergence from the Byzantine originals.

The Round or Middle Byzantine system, invented in the twelfth century, survived the Latin conquest of Constantinople and flourished throughout the age of the Palæologi. In this long stretch of time the whole hymnody of the church was recorded in a notation that can be read with virtual certainty in all its main features. The fall of Constantinople in 1453 and the Turkish conquest brought a sudden end to the production of musical manuscripts. It is not until the later seventeenth century that a notable revival can be seen, both in the copying of old hymns and in the composition of new tunes. In the eighteenth century the Greek musicians at Constantinople were the minstrels of the Sultan's court, and their work had a thoroughly oriental quality. This naturally spread to music intended for Greek audiences. Thus, about 1821, when the Archimandrite Chrysanthus and his associates were reforming the notation, they found a music in use whose theory and practice were mainly Arabo-Persian. The new notation, adapted for print and provided with a species of *sol-fa*, soon established itself; the more easily as the previous or Late Byzantine system was falling into disuse. But they did not try to reform the music itself; and their theory is a strange mixture of Eastern notions with ill-digested scraps of ancient Greek treatises. Therefore, when anyone speaks of the contemporary Greek music as "Byzantine," this means only that it is non-European. The Greek church music of the Middle Ages, resembling Gregorian, properly deserves the name Byzantine; and in this sense I shall use it.

The folk-songs of modern Greece (of which Greek scholars such as Mme. Merlier, Prof. Psachos, and M. Pachtikos have published admirable collections) are midway between the two traditions—less oriental than Chrysanthine Church music, because they were the work of simple men, not court minstrels, and less diatonic than Byzantine music had been, because the centuries of Turkish sway left their mark on the songs as on the language of Greece.

It need scarcely be pointed out that the modern harmonized melodies of some Greek city churches are a loan from the West. They are

much deplored by Prof. Psachos and his followers who wish to stand fast by the 1821 tradition. So, too, in the Middle Ages, Byzantine music was unisonic and unaccompanied. No instrumental music from those times has come down to us.



In the absence of an oral tradition older than the eighteenth century, we are driven to the manuscripts for our knowledge of Byzantine music in the Middle Ages. Not only have several handbooks of varying merit come down to us, but the collections of hymns afford valuable internal evidence; so that the rules of the Round or Middle Byzantine notation have been promulgated and are generally accepted by scholars in Western Europe. These rules formed the subject of discussion at the Copenhagen Conference in 1931, where agreement was reached concerning the interpretation of the rhythmical signs and some other details, of which an exact demonstration could not be effected as can be done with the interval signs. In this notation, the first note of every hymn is shown by the signature, which varies with the mode. These signatures, which sometimes add an intonation, have been tabulated and explained in adequate numbers. The rest of the melody is given by a chain of interval signs, at the end of which the *finalis* is regained. This supplies a check on our reading. The values of the interval signs are given in the mediæval handbook called *Papadiḱé*, but the rhythmical signs could only be interpreted on general grounds—hence the need for an agreed system, such as the Conference recommended.²

Furthermore, the Conference put forward a list of publications, of which a splendid beginning has been made by the issue in facsimile of a musical manuscript at Vienna. This, the first volume of the *Monumenta Musica Byzantina*, was brought out by the Danish Academy with the help and approval of the World's Union of Academies. It is a *Sticherarium*, i.e. a collection of the Proper Hymns for the fixed and movable holy days of the whole year, with certain smaller groups of hymns at the end. A great many manuscripts of this class are extant, whereby we can verify doubtful readings and correct mistakes. The date of the Vienna manuscript is 1217.

Another class of musical manuscripts is called *Hirmologus*, and con-

² For a full description of the Round notation, see my books "Byzantine Music and Hymnography" (London: The Faith Press, 1923) and "The Middle Byzantine Musical Notation" (Copenhagen: Levin and Munksgaard, 1935).

tains the typical verses of the Canons, arranged by modes. A Canon is a hymn with eight (or in Lent nine) odes, based on the Canticles. The most famous Canon is that for Easter by St. John of Damascus (*The day of Resurrection: earth, tell it out abroad*, translated by J. M. Neale). Few *Hirmologi* are extant, the best being at Grottaferrata, dated 1281. Whereas the Proper Hymns show remarkable uniformity of text and clearly go back to a common original, the Canons show greater disagreement, which amounts sometimes to an altogether different musical setting. It will be requisite, therefore, to examine in detail every known *Hirmologus*.

The third mediæval type of musical manuscript contains the *Con-tacia*, or *Κοντάκια*, of St. Romanus (early VIth cent.) and others, but only in the mutilated form that is still in use. Romanus was the greatest of all Byzantine hymn-wrights, and his narrative-odes, or religious ballads, have a fervor, simplicity, and power, of which later Greek hymnody shows little trace. After the iconoclastic strife in the early seventh century, the liturgical books were altered by St. John of Damascus or his followers and only the preludes of the odes of Romanus were left. The original music consequently disappeared; and the surviving portions of the odes were set, at an unknown date, in a very florid style. They are found in very few manuscripts and are most difficult to read.

In the fifteenth century we find other collections—including whole services, Lauds, Vespers, the Liturgies of St. Basil and St. Chrysostom, and many exercises for the training of precentors. At this time the composition of new melodies, usually florid, for older hymns begins; and this was carried still further in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.



The ancient laws of quantity were dead by the sixth century; and the spoken language was pronounced, like modern Greek, by accent. But men of letters still wrote epigrams and lyrical poems in the ancient meters; and St. John of Damascus uses the ancient iambic meter for some of his Canons. This, however, was a literary and technical feat. Most Byzantine hymnody is either based on the number of syllables and the position of the chief accent (like the narrative odes of Romanus) or, more often, it is in rhythmical prose, divided into *cola* or versicles, like the Psalms and Canticles. The music follows the words, and is more like recitative than melody. The rhythm is free. The cadences,

which are typical of the modes, and certain conventional ornaments, help to make the music lucid.³

All the Byzantine modes were diatonic in the Middle Ages. An accidental b-flat is sometimes needed to avoid an augmented fourth. Short passages in the chromatic *genus* (tetrachord e-flat, f-sharp, g, a; or g, a-flat, b, c') are sometimes found; but not before the seventeenth century do we find a whole hymn in this *genus*.

The authentic modes nominally begin from the notes a, b, c', d', in order. But Mode IV usually begins from g (as it would otherwise be too high) and borrows b-flat from the fourth plagal. The third mode usually ends on f, but avoids b near a cadence. The first plagal and third plagal (or Grave Mode; *Barys*) are the easiest, being like d-minor with a flat seventh, and f-major. The fourth plagal is the most complicated and expresses the highest emotion. The first mode is plain and straightforward.

We give a few examples below, copied from the manuscripts by the writer and transcribed into staff notation. With any music of past ages we can never be sure that our manner of singing is in agreement with the composer's intention. When we have read the neumes, there still remain details of voice-production, expression, phrasing, and style, for which the manuscripts give us no guidance. Nor can we say when or how far the oriental practice of sliding from note to note (which often gives the illusion of quarter-tones) had established itself. The nasal singing, often remarked by nineteenth-century travellers in the Levant, may be a fairly recent introduction from the East. Further, there is no proof that the method of singing, even in the Middle Ages, was the same all over the Byzantine empire, in which many local influences were always at work. Hence, as the manuscripts are our only guide, we are bound to follow them as faithfully as possible.



EXAMPLES OF BYZANTINE MUSIC

1. The first ode of a Canon for Christmas by St. John of Damascus, from the *Hirmologus* at Grottaferrata. Mode I. (Crypt. date 1281.) The iambic meter is ignored by the composer. The accentual correspondence is carried through every ode, and possibly St. John intended this and not the quantities to be the basis of the music. A final cadence on d is very frequent in this mode.

³ Any attempts to add vocal harmonies would be out of place, but a simple accompaniment may be a help to some singers. It is also useful to have a Latin version in readiness for a singer ignorant of Greek.

Allegro

Ἐ - σω - σε λα - ὄν θαν - μα - τουρ - γῶν θεσ - πό - της,
 Mi - ra - cu - lis gen - tem Do - mi - nus ser - va - vit,
 ὁ - γρὸν θα - λάσ - σης κῦ - μα χερ - σώ - σας πά - λαι -
 a - quo - sis un - dis pon - ti sic - ca - tis o - lim,
 ἐ - κὼν δὲ τεχ - θείς ἐκ κό - ρης τρι - ὄν θα - τήν -
 et spon - te na - tus pu - el - la per - vi - am se - mi - tam
 πό - λου τί - θη - σιν ἡ - μῖν; ὃν καί' οὐ - σί - σιν
 coe - li red - di - dit no - bis; quem per sub - stan - ti - am
 ἱ - σον τε πατ - ρί - και ἑρ - τοῖς δο - ξά - ζο - μεν.
 ao - quum Pa - tri - lau - da - mus et mor - ta - li - bus.

2. Hymn from the *Octoechus*. Mode III. This mode is very difficult, and is mostly avoided in the Proper Hymns, where the composer could choose his own mode.

Andante

Παλ - λά τὰ ἔ - τη τῶν θα - σι - λέ - ὦν πολ - λά - τὰ ἔ - τη τῶν
 Mul - ti . . . sint an - ni re - gum, mul - ti sint an - ni.
 θα - σι - λέ - ὦν πολ - λά - τὰ ἔ - τη τῶν θα - σι - λέ - ὦν.
 re - gum, mul - ti sint an - ni re - gum.
 Ἰ - ω ἄν - του τοῦ εὐ - σε - θεσ - τά - του βα - σι - λέ - ὤς καὶ αὐ - το -
 I - o han - nis pi - is - si - mi re - gis et im - per - a - tor - is Ro -
 κρά - το - ρος Ἰω - μαι - ὦν, τοῦ Πα - λαι - ο - λό - γου καὶ Μα - ρί - ας τῆς εὐ - σε - θεσ - τά - της
 man - o - rum, et Pa - lae - o - lo - gi; et Ma - ri - ae, Ma - ri - ae pi - iss - i - mae
 Αὐ - γού - στ - ος πολ - λά τὰ ἔ - τη Ἰ - ω σήφ - του ἁ - γι - ὡ -
 Au - gus - tae mul - ti sint an - ni; I - o seph - i sanc - tis - si -
 τά - του καὶ οἱ - κου - με - νι - κῶ πα - τρι - ᾶρ - χου πολ - λά τὰ ἔ - τη.
 mi et oe - cu - me - ni - ci pa - tri - ar - chi mul - ti sint an - ni.

3. A Proper Hymn for Christmas. Mode IV. The tune, being in the lower region of the mode, borrows b-flat from the fourth plagal.

Adagio molto

Om - ni-po-tens Do-mi-ne, no - - vi quan-tum prae-va - le -
 ant la - cri - mae, He-re-chi-am-quo a fo - ri-bus mor-tis re - de - ge - rint,
 et pec - ca - tri- cem a ve - te - ri-bus cri - mi-
 ni-bus e - ri - pu - e - rint, et pub-li - ca-num prae Pha - ri-sae - o in-sti -
 fi-ca - ve - rint; qui-bus-cum me nu-mer-ans mi-se-re - re pre-cor, Do - mi-ne.

4. A Polychronism, wishing long life to a Byzantine emperor. Mode IV.

Allegro

Huc ad - es - te, ea - ni - te ma - trem sal - va - to - ris,
 quae post par-tum rur-sus ap - pa - ru - it vir - go; sal - ve urbs vi - vi - fi - ca
 Re-gis nos-tri et De-i, — ub - i Chris-tus ha - bi-tans sa-lu - tem ef - fe - cit;
 cum Ga-bri-e - le co - le - bram-uste, iuxta pas-tor - es re-so-na-bi-mus, cla-man-tes:
 De-i Ma-ter o - ra — Sal - va - to-rem a te na-tum pro sa-lu - te nos-tra.

5. Hymn from the *Octoechus*. Mode I, plagal.

Adagio non troppo

Fluc-ti-bus qui ma - ris o - per - u - it - quon - dam per - se - cu - to - rem re - gem,
 ter - ra o - per - i - unt re - demp - to - rum fi - li - i; nos au - tem sic - ut mu -
 li - e - res can - te - mus Do - mi - no; glo - ri - o - se mag - ni - fi - ca - tus - est.

6. The first ode of a Canon for Saturday in Holy Week. Mode II, plagal. Words ascribed to Casia.

(1) Υμ - νοῦ - μέν τὸν σω - τῆ - ρα, (2) τὸν ἐκ τῆς παρ - θέν - νου σαρ - κὸς
 Lau - da - mus Sal - va - to - rem, Is - e - nim e - pu - ἐλ - la in - car -
 θέν - τα, (3) δι' ἣ - μᾶς γὰρ ἐ - σταν - ρώ - θῃ (4) καὶ τῇ τοί - τη
 na - tus, et pro no - bis - cruc - i - fi - xus ter - ti - a di -
 ἣ - με - ρᾷ ἀν - τί - σ - τῃ (5) ὁ - ρού - με - νος ἡ - μῖν τὸ μέ - γα - ῖ - λ - ος.
 e re - sur - ro - xit, do - nans no - bis mag - nam mi - se - ri - eor - di - am.

7. A rather pathetic hymn for the last Sunday after Epiphany. Mode IV, plagal. This hymn comes from a fifteenth-century manuscript, the words being by Casia. Observe the common formulæ, a b d' c' b (*thematismus eso*) and b a g a f a g f (*thema haploun*). This example has been transposed down a major third.



 Τὸν ἀο - χη - γὸν τῆς σω - τη - ρί - ας ἡ - μῶν, Χρισ - τὸν
 Aue - to - rem sum-mum sa - lu - tis nos - trae, Chris-tum



 δο - ξο - λο - γή - σω - μεν. Αὐ - τοῦ γὰρ ἐκ νεκ - ρῶν ἀν - α - στάν - τος
 mag - ni - fi - ca - bi - mus. Hoc en - im ab in - fer-nis sur-gen - te



 κός - μος ἐκ πλά - νης σέ - σω - ται. Καί - οὐ γο - ρῶς ἀν - γέ - λων φεύ - γει δαι - μό -
 mun-dus er-ro-re ser-va-tur. Gau-det an-ge-lo - rum cho-rus, fu-git de-mo -



 νων πλά - νη. Ἄ - δάμ πε - σὼν ἀν - ισ - τα - ται. δι - ά - βο - λος κατ - ἥρ - γη - ται.
 num er-ror. A-dam lap-sus re - sur - git, di - a - bo-lus de - vin - ci - tur.

8. A joyful hymn in praise of the Martyrs. Mode IV, plagal. (Grottaferrata E. Gamma II.)

Allegro moderato
 

 Λα - τα - bun - di iu - bi - le - mns, λα - τα men - te ce - le - bre - mus.



 Mar-ty-rum sol-lem-ni-a, qui in mun-do mor-i-en-tes, sed in Chris-to



 re - nas-cen - tes, so-la cru-ce glo - ri - an - tes, e - ius vi - vunt glo - ri - a.

EARLY GERMAN KEYBOARD MUSIC

By WILLI APEL

THE PERIOD dealt with in this article extends from about 1450 to the end of the XVIth century. It is the period of the earliest keyboard literature in Germany, itself an outstanding contribution towards the total keyboard literature of the Renaissance. At the close, there are musicians like Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck in the Netherlands and Samuel Scheidt in Germany, who may already pass for typical representatives of the Baroque style. From these men to Bach, the growth of that style is a fairly familiar tale.

With keyboard music, as with most historical developments, the very beginnings are obscure. The oldest surviving documents, dating from the early XVth century in England and from the middle of the XVth century in Germany, mark only the starting point of our knowledge, not of the history itself. There is considerable evidence of earlier activity throughout Europe: numerous literary references to the organ occur in the earliest Middle Ages; many paintings show, in an unequivocal way, that the instrument was used; treatises on musical theory mention it even before A.D. 1000. As for the stringed keyboard instruments, the forerunners of the piano, they, according to similar evidence, developed later. The clavichord (*monochord*, *manicorde*) was probably invented about 1300, while the harpsichord in its early forms (*Schachtbrett*, *eschiquier*) goes back as far as 1250.

We shall discuss here the history of German keyboard music only from the standpoint of the documents. Until recently, the *Fundamentum organisandi* (1452) of Conrad Paumann was generally considered the first monument of this music. But investigations made in the last few years enable us to push a little farther back.

First, there is a compilation of sermons by Ludolf Wilkin von Winsem (Windsheim in Northwestern Germany),¹ dating from 1432 and containing some pieces written in the same kind of organ tablature (using notes and letters) that we again meet with, in Paumann's work, twenty years later. It contains some rather crude settings of the Sanctus, Patrem, and Kyrie—our oldest examples of the organ mass—and also

¹ In the possession of the State Library, Berlin. For more details see Leo Schrade, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der ältesten Instrumentalmusik*, 1931.

in Jungentollenwünsch ich dir

Handwritten musical notation on eight staves, featuring various notes, rests, and accidentals. The notation is in a historical style, likely from the 17th or 18th century. The staves are arranged in a single system, with the first staff being a treble clef and the subsequent staves alternating between treble and bass clefs. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and accidentals, as well as some handwritten annotations in German, including "Stücke" and "Hao".

Page from the Manuscript of Paumann's *Fundamentum organisandi*, containing his *cantus firmus* setting of *Mit ganzcem Willen wuensch ich dir*, partly transcribed in Ex. 5

one of those *cantus firmus* pieces (entitled *Wol up ghesellen yst an der tyer*) that were destined to assume considerable importance during the ensuing years. We need not examine this music in detail, since it shows little difference in character from that in Paumann's *Fundamentum*, which will be discussed presently.

There is another early manuscript, the organ tablature of Adam Ileborgh, dating from 1448, which merits greater consideration for at least two reasons: (1) It is now owned by the Curtis Institute of Music at Philadelphia and is therefore likely to be of particular interest to American readers; (2) It displays a very interesting and peculiar character and plays quite a unique rôle in the history of early German keyboard music. This manuscript has been treated in detail elsewhere.² For present purposes, we may confine ourselves to a brief consideration of its general nature and its particular relation to the history of German keyboard music.

The manuscript is on parchment. Its first page (reproduced opposite p. 210) begins with the following lines of Latin text, incorporating many abbreviations (not preserved below) as was customary at the time:

*Incipiunt praeludia diversarum notarum
secundum modernum modum subtiliter
et diligenter collecta cum mensuris di-
versis hic inferius annexis per fratrem
Ileborgh Anno domini 1448 tempore
sui rectoratus in stendall.*

Translation

Here begin preludes in various keys according to the modern manner, cleverly and diligently collected, with divers "mensurae" hereinbelow appended, by brother Adam Ileborgh, in the year of our Lord 1448, the time of his rectorate in Stendall.


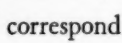


More important than the name of the composer and the date of the composition, both of which we learn from these lines, is the place where he lived and where the manuscript was written. Stendall, a town in Northwestern Germany, still exists and is known, moreover, as the place from which Henri Beyle, the famous French essayist, took his pseudonym, Stendhal. The mention of this town in the manuscript is of uncommon interest since it shows (especially in connection with the pieces from Winsem) that in the early XVth century there must have been a musical culture in the North of Germany, the traces of which completely vanished in the following centuries.

² Willi Apel, *Die Tabulatur des Adam Ileborgh*, in *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, XVI (1934), 193. Mr. Placido de Montoliu, librarian of the Curtis Institute, was so kind as to make a translation of the article into English, and I have availed myself of it in the above summary.

After the heading, there appears:

Sequitur præambulum in C et potest variari in d,f,g,a. Then follows the "preamble" itself, written on one staff in so-called "Old German organ tablature." The upper voice is represented by a row of mensural notes, the lower voices by a row of letters. The letters are c,d,e, etc.—the same ones that are still used in German- and (with slight alterations) in English-speaking countries. The other music contained in the ten pages of the manuscript is written in the same manner, except that some staves on the first and second pages present a deviation, in so far as the lower voices are here written in note values as well as letters. The deviation undoubtedly represents a simpler kind of notation, but one that is extremely rare in music of this time and had no influence on the further development of notation in Germany.

Transcription of this music into modern notation poses some peculiar difficulties, which are fully described in the article mentioned in footnote 2. Here we may confine ourselves to saying that the notes

 correspond to our ; that a C-clef is used at the beginning of the staff to indicate pitch; that a simple downward stroke from a note-head, thus , found repeatedly in the very first staff, indicates the chromatic alteration of a note, i.e. either a sharp (for f,c,g) or a flat (for b,e), as was usual in German organ tablatures; and that the curious double-stemmed note  does not have the meaning of an isolated "fusa" (sixteenth-note), as with Paumann (see p. 217) but represents a long note, often a kind of a *fermata*, and should perhaps be executed with the aid of some embellishment.

The lower row of symbols in the first preamble is written beneath the staff-line with letters denoting the tones c,g,d,f-sharp,³ c,g. But if we try to play them together with the upper voice, the result is unsatisfactory, if not impossible. Especially strange is the fact that the last note of the lower voice should be g—which fits very poorly with the C-tonality of the whole piece. The solution of the problem lies in the fact that the letters are to be played not successively as they are written, but simultaneously in pairs, thus: $\begin{smallmatrix} g & f\text{-sharp} \\ c & d \end{smallmatrix}$ $\begin{smallmatrix} g \\ c \end{smallmatrix}$. That is, this preamble is really a three-part piece, although it appears to be in two-parts. The

³ Alteration of tones written in letters is indicated by a little loop affixed to the letter, as is customary in German tablatures.

reason for the curious and misleading notation may be found in part in the tendency to save space, shown by all scribes of the Middle Ages and early Renaissance when they wrote on parchment, which was not to be squandered. But there is another reason, and a more powerful one: the lower row was to be executed on the organ pedal, or rather, as becomes apparent from a careful investigation, by both feet as a "double-pedal." In the light of this fact, the writing in our tablature turns out to be very practical, since, in each pair of letters, the left foot was always supposed to play what was indicated by the letter at the left and the right foot what was indicated by the letter at the right.

We are now in a position to transcribe the first preamble (shown in facsimile opposite p. 210) into modern notation:⁴

Ex. 1



This preamble is followed by four others. Each is described in a few words mentioning its key and stating whether it is to be played on the manual alone or on the manual with pedal. The rest of the manuscript (pp. 4-11) contains a different kind of music, called *mensura*. Thus, we read at the beginning of p. 4:

Mensura trium notarum super illem tenorem frowe al myn hoffen an dyr lyed,
which means:

Mensura in triple time to the tenor: My lady, all my hope depends on you.

After this piece, there follow two other *mensurae* with the same tenor, but differing from each other in rhythm (one is *duorum notarum*, the other *sex notarum*) and in the character of the upper voice.

These *mensurae* (*cantus firmus* works in a given *mensura*, i.e. meas-

⁴ In making the transcription, indulgence in some rhythmical licenses will prove unavoidable, because of the great difference between our present ideas of rhythm and those obtaining in these preambles.

ure or rhythm) are rather crude and have only a certain musicological interest. From a musical and artistic point of view, the importance of the tablature lies rather in the preambles. The melodic design in the upper voice of each of these is of an extremely wandering character, swinging about capriciously over a few sustained bass chords. No trace is to be found here of scholastic "coloration"-formulas such as the contemporary Paumann was teaching in South Germany. The design remains constantly alive and original. Preambles 1 and 4, particularly, are little masterpieces, arousing immediate interest even today.

No music of this style has reached us in any other document. While we may regret that fact, it is not difficult to understand from a historical viewpoint. Such a style, charming as it may be in its initial stages, is by its very nature too vague, too undisciplined, to exert an effective form-producing influence for long. Ileborgh himself states that it is "*secundum modernum modum*," and we may choose to apply "modern" to it in both the good and bad senses of the word, much as we do nowadays in connection with our own times and our own music. Indeed, those of us who do not regard development in art exclusively from a "progressive" standpoint—the one commonly applied to human endeavor—will not be astonished to encounter traces of that very same style in the "modern" music of our own times. We do not hesitate to compare the first preamble of Ileborgh with the following opening measures of a piano piece by Philipp Jarnach, a German composer living today:⁵



The Ileborgh tablature is a unique and consequently valuable document in the history of keyboard music because it shows elements of a very early stage of organ music—probably a transitory one—that is not represented by other tablatures. Indeed, only four years later, but this time in South Germany, we enter an entirely different world of organ music, with the *Fundamentum organisandi* of Conrad Paumann. Un-

⁵ Philipp Jarnach, *Kleine Klavierstücke*, Nr. 8, Ed. Schott, Mainz. The notation of this piece has been slightly altered to bring out the resemblance to the preamble.

like some other musicians of his time, Paumann is not a semi-legendary figure. His fame was so widespread among his contemporaries that many details of his life have been preserved. It will be sufficient to mention here that he was born about 1410 in Nuremberg; that like a strangely large number of other famous musicians of old (Landino, Schlick, Cabezón) he was blind; that he travelled as far as Italy, where he was greatly honored, especially by the duke of Mantua; that, late in life, he was appointed organist at the Frauenkirche in Munich; and that his tombstone is still to be found at that church. For further details one may refer to the article on him in Grove.⁶

Unfortunately, the few compositions that have come down to us under Paumann's name give only a slight idea of the significance his work must have had in the eyes of his contemporaries to warrant the enthusiastic praise they bestowed upon it. Two manuscripts contain music of his. First, the *Fundamentum organisandi*,⁷ which is principally a collection of examples for the teaching of the particular kind of composition—called "*organisare*"—that was characteristic of the period. The name probably does not refer exclusively to the organ, but means, in a general sense: to organize, shape, or build an additional voice over a given tenor. In his examples, designated *ascensus* and *descensus*, Paumann uses parts of the scale as *cantus firmi*, differentiating the *ascensus simplex* (c,d,e,f,g,a) from the *ascensus per tertias* (c,e,d,f,e,g,a,b) or from the *ascensus per quartas* (c,f,d,g,e,a), etc. He thus constructs tenors in which all the intervals from seconds to sixths occur, and provides them with upper voices offering numerous contrapuntal figurations. The whole forms an excellent manual of composition, perfectly suited to the needs of the time. The following examples will give an idea of the technique of composition expounded:



⁶ The article on Scheidt in Grove may be consulted for a description of "coloration," mentioned several times in the course of this paper.

⁷ The original manuscript is in the library of Count Stolbergk-Wernigerode (Germany), bound together with the *Lochamer Liederbuch*. Both manuscripts were published in facsimile by Conrad Ameln, Berlin, 1926. See the article by W. F. Arnold and H. Bellermann in *Jahrbücher für musikalische Wissenschaft*, 1867.



The second example above shows that occasionally even the original tenor was freely altered. The third measure from the end is of special interest. Here the original *e* has disappeared from the tenor and has been transferred—probably intentionally—to the upper voice.

We are able to demonstrate that, in practical composition, Paumann proceeded from the elements to the finished product, using the same method he taught in the *Fundamentum*. Arnold Schering, in his "Studien zur Musikgeschichte der Frührenaissance," was the first to throw light on Paumann's methods as a composer, by comparing some of his pieces, as they are preserved in the *Fundamentum*, with the tenors upon which they were based and which, fortunately, have also come down to us, in their original form, in the *Lochamer Liederbuch*. One of the most beautiful of Paumann's pieces, in which the folk-song, *Mit ganzem Willen wuensch ich dir*, is used as a *cantus firmus*, may serve as an illustration. A facsimile reproduction appears opposite p. 211. Transcribing this music into modern notation offers much fewer difficulties than does the transcription of the Ileborgh manuscript. The three letters *g*, *c*, and *f* (the *f* in its ancient form) appear at the beginning of the staff as a sort of triple clef and enable us to read the upper voice,⁸ while the two lower voices are written in letters, provided occasionally with rhythmic indications (see staff 3, measure 1). Letters for tones to be simultaneously sounded are not placed in horizontal succession, as in the Ileborgh manuscript, but are vertically aligned. One must bear in mind that the sign \sim above a letter indicates the one-lined octave (this octave beginning not with middle *c* but with *b* just below, as becomes apparent from the middle voice in measures 6 and 7 of the first staff) and that, in accor-

⁸ A stem indicating chromatic alteration here bears a diagonal line (*cf.* the last note of the first staff), as it does regularly in the later tablatures.

dance with German usage, the letter h means b-natural, while the letter b always stands for b-flat. It may be observed that in measure 2 of staff 3 we have the same double-stemmed note that we encountered in the Ileborgh Codex. But now it has an entirely different meaning: it has become a sixteenth note. Thus, $\text{♩} \cdot \text{♩} \text{♩} \text{♩} \text{♩}$ |

means: $\text{♩} \text{♩} \text{♩} \text{♩} \text{♩}$ |

We give a transcription of the first measures⁹ and, above it, a transcription of the germinant tenor, taken from the *Lochamer Liederbuch*:

Ex. 5

Mit gan - zem Wil - - lon

wuensch ich dir

It may be observed that, in measures 7 and 8, the *cantus* leaps from the tenor into the "superius" (treble), as does the *cantus* in one of the didactic pieces—Ex. 4.

Another document that shows the influence of Paumann's teaching is the so-called *Buxheimer Orgelbuch*, a very extensive manuscript¹⁰ of about the year 1460, the most important source of XVth-century keyboard music. This manuscript contains several collections of the same kind as the *Fundamentum*, one of which is entitled *Fundamentum Conradi Paumanni organistæ*. This is based on the same principles as is the earlier work, but they are here considerably broadened and elaborated. Although these collections of *ascensus*, *descensus*, *pausa*,

⁹ The whole piece is printed in Schering's *Studien zur Geschichte der Frührenaissance*, p. 37. The first part is printed in *Musik aus früher Zeit*, by Willi Apel, Ed. Schott, Mainz, a collection of keyboard music of the Renaissance.

¹⁰ At the State Library, Munich. For details see *Monatshefte für Musikgeschichte, Beilage*, 1888-89.

redeuntes, etc. are valuable for special research purposes, their importance is far surpassed by that of the other contents of the codex, *viz.* a collection of more than 200 compositions that give a remarkably complete picture of the organ music of the middle of the XVth century. Among these pieces, there are about 15 preambles, which will be considered later in another connection. All the other compositions resemble Paumann's *Mit ganczem Willen* in that they are not original organ pieces, but arrangements based upon vocal music.

This fact shows to what a considerable degree keyboard music was at first dependent upon vocal music.¹¹ The dependence was destined to last several centuries, ceasing only gradually and continuing to show its influence in works as late as Bach's chorale-preludes. The pieces in the *Buxheimer Orgelbuch* are even more closely related to vocal music than are those in the *Fundamentum*. In a piece like Paumann's *Mit ganczem Willen*, a vocal melody was taken as a basis for a keyboard setting, but the making of the setting, the "organizing" of the contrapuntal voice or voices, was apparently an independent act of musical invention. In most of the pieces in the *Buxheimer Orgelbuch*, however, not only the tenor, but the whole setting, was originally vocal and was merely adapted and transcribed for the organ. If we compare the treatment followed in the *Orgelbuch* with that applied in the *Fundamentum*, we can have little doubt that the former method marked a regression in the development of instrumental style. The making of an independent contribution to the setting gives way to a more or less mechanical procedure, comparable to the preparation of a "piano score" from a symphony. The different voices, originally written out as separate parts, are now merely compressed into a notation easy for a single player to survey. The setting, to be sure, has been somewhat modified to suit the technique of the keyboard and has been provided with coloration, especially in the upper voice. But we can see that, after Paumann, the art of *organisare* ceases and a somewhat inferior art called "*intabulare*" begins. Its practice was to continue until *ca.* 1600. We give an example of this "intabulation," taken from Schering's "Studien." It is a piece from the *Buxheimer Orgelbuch* shown in contrast with the original vocal setting as preserved in the Trent Codices:

¹¹ The designation "vocal music," commonly used where the contents of codices are written in single parts (hence, not in tablature), does not imply performance necessarily by human voices, at any rate not by human voices alone. Undoubtedly instruments often played an important part in performance, as is proved by the investigations of Riemann, Kinkeldey, and Schering.

Ex. 6
Dunstable: Sub tuam protectionem

Buxheimer Orgelbuch



Many of these mere "intabulations" (*i. e.* transcriptions) actually make beautiful keyboard pieces. We should like to point to some details in one of them (printed in "Musik aus früher Zeit," Vol. I) that are just as characteristic of the style of the early Renaissance as they are strange to the modern ear, which still takes its bearings from the music of the classics. Let us consider these two passages:

Ex. 7



Where such strange cross-relations occur, it is very tempting to conjecture that there has been a mistake in the writing, or some other slip, and to "correct" the "errors." This can easily be done by adding some accidentals that will change the annoying b-naturals into b-flats. But are we justified in adding them? This is a very important question, one that concerns not merely this passage but thousands of similar passages in manuscripts dating from *ca.* 1200 to as far on as 1600. The answer here, as almost everywhere else, must be negative. Our example is right in every detail. The alteration of a single note would bring about a change, even a falsification, of the original style. We have to face the fact that music of the XVth and XVIth centuries differs greatly from that of later times, not only in form and general character, but also in many details bearing on tonality. In our example, the difference might be described very simply as that between our classical F-major tonality and

a genuine Lydian tonality, with its characteristic shifting from b-natural to b-flat.¹²

* *
*

However dissimilar Paumann's *Fundamentum* and the *Buxheimer Orgelbuch* may be stylistically, owing mainly to the distinction between *organisare* and *intabulare*, both manuscripts definitely belong to the same period, to the Early Renaissance, represented in vocal music by the Burgundian masters—Dufay, Binchois, and their colleagues—, flourishing in the first half of the XVth century. The next tablature that survives shows clearly the fundamental change in style that took place in the second half of the century through the innovations of the Netherlands masters, especially Ockeghem (1420-1495). This tablature, one of the first printed music-books, is the *Tabulaturen etlicher lobgesang und lidlein uff die Orgeln und Lauten* ("Tablature of some Songs of Praise and Little Songs for the Organ and Lute") of Arnolt Schlick, which appeared at Mainz in 1512.¹³ It is a small volume containing only fourteen organ pieces, twelve songs with lute accompaniment, and three numbers for lute alone. Little is known about Schlick himself. He was probably born ca. 1450, was organist at Heidelberg in 1511, and was still living in 1517. He made music "uff orgeln, lauten, harpfen, etc. lebendiger stimme, vil iar vor keysern unnd koenigen" ("on the organ, lute, harp, etc. and with the human voice for many years before emperors and kings"), as we learn from a letter of his son's, printed as a preface to the *Tabulaturen*. It seems, however, that he did not live to receive the recognition he deserved. In the same letter, his son admonishes him, "lasse dein leben nit also stilschweigen hingeen . . . was ist dein kunst wann niemant weiss was du kanst" ("Do not let thy life pass thus in silence . . . Of what good is thy craft if nobody knows what thou canst?"). Moreover, when he was old and blind, his work was severely attacked by Sebastian Virdung, author of the *Musica getutscht* (1511), with onslaughts resulting from both sides.

Schlick's *Tabulaturen* is important in keyboard literature, both as a

¹² Cf. Willi Apel, *Accidentien und Tonalität in den Musikdenkmälern des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1936.

¹³ Regarding the earliest specimens of printed music, see Otto Kinkeldey, "Music and Music Printing in Incunabula" (in *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, XXVI [1932], 89); Gustave Reese, "The First Printed Collection of Part-Music: The Odhecaton" (in *The Musical Quarterly*, XX [1934], 39). A facsimile of Schlick's *Tabulaturen* was published in 1924 (Ugrino, Abt. Verlag); all the organ pieces and two of the lute compositions were published by Robert Eitner in 1869 in the *Monatshefte für Musikgeschichte*.

document of historical significance and as an individual art-work. We have already mentioned that it shows traces of the innovations introduced in the second half of the XVth century. These, briefly, were changes leading to the development of a real contrapuntal style, based on the principle of equality of all the voices and on the granting to the "linear" conception a predominance over the wants of the harmonic elements. But, in spite of the influence of the new style, Schlick's compositions bear a thoroughly individual stamp, an organistic character for which there was no model in vocal composition. Most of his pieces are *cantus firmus* settings of tenors taken from Gregorian chant. There are a *Salve regina* in 6 parts, a *Benedictus*, a *Christe*, three *Da pacem* settings, etc. In all these pieces, the *cantus firmus* is disposed in long notes, while the other voices provide counterpoint in more rapid motion. The tenor is no longer, as it was with Paumann, merely a support that could not be discarded in organizing a setting, something the composer was more anxious to hide than to exhibit. It is an alive and animating part of the composition, soul as well as backbone. It is always recognizable and perceptible, sounding in sustained notes through the embroidery of the counterpoint.

The counter-melodies frequently use imitation—faithful attendant of genuine polyphonic style—as in this passage:

Ex. 8
O dulcis Maria

Sometimes imitations of short phrases occur in a way that seems to anticipate the methods of a century later. Indeed, upon seeing a few measures like these:

Ex. 9
Ad te clamamus

or these:

Ex. 10



one would probably not hesitate to attribute them to Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck, who flourished about 1600.

There are some pieces in which the tenor itself generates the other voices, so that a fugue-like opening results:

Ex. 11



With such a style we are apparently on the very road that leads to the chorale-preludes of Bach. In fact, one might say that Schlick is related to Bach not only historically as a forerunner, but, more intimately, as a kindred personality and spirit. For, whoever plunges into Schlick's musical world will not fail to recognize that it is the same spirit of piety, purity, and intensity, that guides both masters to their remarkable similarity of expression.

A younger contemporary of Schlick, perhaps even his pupil for a while, was Paulus Hofhaimer (1459-1537), the widely famed and highly celebrated court-organist of Maximilian II of Austria. His life, of which H. J. Moser has given a detailed description in his book, "Paul Hofhaimer, ein Lied- und Orgelmeister des deutschen Humanismus," was led in an atmosphere quite different from that surrounding Schlick's. Hofhaimer lived in the midst of the pomp and splendor of the Austrian court, in the thick of the zealous activities of the German Humanists, at the center of a sphere of enthusiastic admirers and devoted pupils. If

Schlick recalls Bach in some ways, then Hofhaimer reminds one of Handel—perhaps not only with regard to personal experience, but also from a musical point of view. The music of Hofhaimer, consisting mostly of secular four-part settings, exhibits a vivid and charming character, favoring richness of sound and liveliness of expression. The many tributes of his contemporaries indicate that his organ playing must have made an especially powerful impression. There is an interesting poem, dating from 1515, in which Hofhaimer is contrasted with Buchner, of whom we shall treat presently.

*Was nun sage ich dir von Paulus dem Meister des Cæsars,
Was von Buchner Johann? . . .
Einer derselben bläst die Syrinx [Orgel] stark und gewaltig.
Tausend Stimmen zugleich und rasenden Wagen vergleichbar
Während der andere vier neumatische Stimmen verbindet.*

Free translation:

What is there to say about Paulus, the emperor's master-musician,
What about Buchner, Johann? . . .
One of them plays the organ with might and with main,
Like a thousand voices at once, like the rush of chariots,
While the other skilfully weaves four ethereal voices together.

Unfortunately, only three or four of Hofhaimer's organ pieces¹⁴ have come down to us. The most important of these is a "Salve regina." A comparison between this work and the "Salve regina" of Schlick will show very strikingly the superiority of the latter as an organ-composer, the impressiveness of his melodic design and the power of his polyphonic writing:

Ex. 12
Hofhaimer



¹⁴ Printed in Moser's book.



Perhaps such a comparison is not wholly fair to Hofhaimer. His organ music is in such a poor state of preservation that we cannot form a clear picture of him as an organ composer. In trying to form a picture of the period, however, we find the lack supplied to some extent by the works of certain of his friends, pupils, and immediate successors, who, together with him, constitute a group of XVIth-century musicians, commonly regarded as a whole. These men, in contrast with the musicians of the Early Renaissance (Paumann, *etc.*), might be called the organ masters of the High Renaissance, or still better, the keyboard representatives of German Humanism.

The source-material they have left us consists of five tablatures, all manuscripts, namely:

Hans Buchner: *Fundamentum sive ratio vera quæ docet quemvis cantum planum sive (ut vocant) choralem redigere ad justas diversarum vocarum symphonias* (City Library, Zürich, Cod. 284);¹⁵

¹⁵ A manuscript copy of this tablature, dated 1551, is preserved in the form of the "Abschrift M. Hansen von Constantz" (Library of the University, Basle). See the article by Carl Päsler in the *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, 1889, where transcriptions of nearly all Buchner's compositions are given. Transcriptions of other compositions of this period may be found in H. J. Moser, *Frühmeister der deutschen Orgelkunst*; Wilhelm Merian, *Der Tanz in den deutschen*

Hans Kotter: 2 tablatures of about 1513 (Library of the University, Basle, FIX 58 and FIX 22);

Fridolin Sicher: Tablature of about 1525 (Library of the Monastery, St. Gall, 530);

Leonhard Kleber: Tablature, 1520-1524 (State Library, Berlin, Z 26).

We have little biographical data about these men. Hans Buchner was born at Ravensburg (near the Bodensee) in 1483, became organist at Constance in 1504, was probably a pupil of Hofhaimer's, and died about 1540. A pupil of his, in turn, was Fridolin Sicher, organist at Bischofszell and St. Gall. Hans Kotter, born at Strasbourg about 1485, was also a pupil of Hofhaimer's, while Kleber, born at Göppingen (Württemberg) about 1490, was probably a pupil of Schlick's and seems not to have belonged to the immediate group of "Paulomimes" (*i.e.* pupils of Paulus Hofhaimer).

We must forego entering here into such a detailed investigation of these documents as they, no doubt, deserve. Considering them as a whole, we may distinguish five different kinds of music in them:

1. Instruction pieces (Buchner)
2. Plainsong settings (principally Buchner and Sicher; to some extent, Kotter and Kleber)
3. Transcriptions of vocal music (Kotter and Kleber; to some extent, Sicher)
4. Preambles and fantasies (Kleber and Kotter)
5. Dances (Kotter)

1. *Instruction pieces.* Buchner's tablature begins with a *Fundamentum*, which it is especially interesting to compare with the *Fundamentum* of Paumann. He follows the same general course as did Paumann: we meet *ascensus* and *descensus* in different intervals, but the writing, which is in three parts from the outset, is more developed. The following extracts will suffice to give an idea of the new level reached in contrapuntal style:

Ex. 13



Tabulaturbüchern; Hermann Halbig, *Klaviertänze des 16. Jahrhunderts*; Willi Apel, *Musik aus früher Zeit*. Several "intabulations" of Kotter, Kleber, and Sicher, are printed by Johannes Wolf in *Instrumentalwerke von Isaac (Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Oesterreich, Vol. XV, XVII)*. Kleber's preambles are transcribed in *Monatshefte für Musikgeschichte, Beilage*, 1888-89.

Apparently without precedent, and most significant when considered in the light of the new period, is the last part of Buchner's *Fundamentum*, a "Tabula fugandi artem complectens," i.e. a table of examples teaching the art of imitation, an art which now becomes an indispensable part of a musician's equipment:

Ex. 14

Fuga, descensus ad quartam



2. *Plainsong settings.* Buchner's tablature consists chiefly of *cantus firmus* pieces, new settings for church use, like Bach's chorale-preludes. Most of the tenors are taken from the Gregorian melodies for the Mass, the number of parts varying from three to six. In all the pieces we find evidence of an admirable feeling for polyphonic style, combined with considerable skill in applying the principles of imitation, especially in connection with canon. Thus Buchner, though a pupil of Hofhaimer's, approaches closer to the style of Schlick than of his master and may be regarded as Schlick's real successor.

Ex. 15

Cras egrediemini (Päsler, p. 112)



Buchner's methods of handling the *cantus firmus* technique are continued not only in the numerous pieces in Sicher's tablature, but also in the contents of two tablatures¹⁶ dating from about 1550, written in Poland but apparently belonging to the sphere of Buchner's influence.

3. *Transcriptions of vocal music.* These are supplied in quantity by Kotter and Kleber (and still more so by the tablatures of the late XVIth century). But there is no point in discussing them here in detail. The principles governing them are the same as those already mentioned in

¹⁶ The tablature of Johannes de Lublin (1540) and the *Krakauer Orgeltabulatur* (1548), both most extensive codices. Cf. A. Chybinski in *Sammelbände der internationalen Musikgesellschaft*, XIII, 463, ff.

Deum
balum
in re.

Page from Leonhard Kleber's Tablature, containing the
Proambulum transcribed in Ex. 18

connection with the *Buxheimer Orgelbuch*: there is some adaptation to the needs of keyboard technique, and coloration is applied. As a sort of compensation for these rather unventuresome pieces, the tablatures of Kleber and Kotter contain a series of free compositions that are of the greatest importance in the history of keyboard music: preambles and dances.

4. *Preambles*. As we have seen, the preambles in Kleber's and Kotter's tablatures are by no means the first ones in the history of German keyboard music. Such pieces are contained not only in the Illeborgh tablature, but also in Paumann's *Fundamentum* and the *Buxheimer Orgelbuch*. Thus we are able to trace the development of this type uninterruptedly, perhaps from its very beginnings, for it is unlikely that the composition of preambles began long before 1450. As a matter of fact, our earliest examples, transmitted to us by Illeborgh and Paumann, carry all the earmarks of being first attempts.

Paumann's preambles, perhaps less interesting from the artistic viewpoint than Illeborgh's, are nevertheless more firmly knit. They are apparently influenced by his *ars organisandi* and are especially remarkable because they exhibit such a special characteristic of the toccata as the alternation between fast passages and sustained chords:

Ex. 16

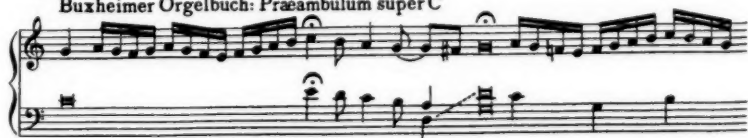
Paumann: Præambulum super F



In the preambles of the *Buxheimer Orgelbuch*, elements deriving from both Illeborgh and Paumann are drawn upon and combined:

Ex. 17

Buxheimer Orgelbuch: Præambulum super C





Kotter and Kleber follow in much the same way, without adding new elements, but they use all their material with much greater firmness and clarity and with a remarkable feeling for dynamic development:

Ex. 18

Kleber: *Præambulum in re*



A facsimile of the original of this preamble is printed opposite p. 226. The notation resembles Paumann's: the upper voice is written in notes, the three lower voices in letters. Above each letter there is a sign indicating its time-value (. | ♯ = ♩ ♪ ♫). These signs should be distinguished from the more or less horizontal lines that appear immediately above some of the letters and indicate the one-lined octave. It should be observed that the bass appears just below the top voice and that the tenor and alto follow, in turn, beneath the bass. In the notation of the bass line, capital letters appear from time to time, indicating the great octave. Thus, in the facsimile, the first, second, fifth, and sixth letters in the second staff of the bass line are all A's, while the four letters before the final one are, in order, G, A, B, and A. It should be borne in mind that b always means b-flat and that b-natural is indicated by h. The time-values have been doubled in the above transcription.

The importance of the preambles lies mainly in the fact that they offer us the oldest keyboard music that is fully independent of the vocal tradition. Here for the first time we become aware of a music for which a keyboard instrument seems to have provided the inspiration. There is the special kind of originality such an inspiration would have produced and the characteristic atmosphere that envelops all genuine keyboard

music. And, although there appears to be a hiatus after Kleber and Kotter, we feel justified in regarding these old pieces as the first links in a graduated chain that had, as its consummating pendants, the toccatas of Buxtehude and Bach.

5. *Dances*. It is in the Kotter manuscripts—which therefore deserve particular attention—that dances are included for the first time in a German tablature.¹⁷ Dance music, however, unlike the preamble, had a long history before its earliest appearance in such a work. It is impossible to give the details of that history, which goes back as far as the XIIIth century, in this article. If we mention the curious four-part German dances dating from about 1460,¹⁸ with their very odd titles such as *Der fochs swantcz*, *Der kranck schnabil*, *Der pfoben swantcz* ("The Fox's Tail," "The Crane's Beak," "The Peacock's Tail," in literal translation, *swantcz*, however, probably being equivalent to *dancz*, i.e. "dance"), it is only to assert that there is hardly any connection between them and Kotter's dances, the style of which points rather to the dances for lute preserved in the earliest Italian tablatures. Such a piece as Dalza's *Pavana alla Venetiana*,¹⁹ in fact, displays all the characteristics of Renaissance dance-music generally: a fluent, well co-ordinated melody above simple chords; a clearly measured, steady rhythm, evoking an impression of high spirits and robust health; a gait as far removed from the clumsiness of the curious dances just mentioned as from the lightness and elegance of the dance music of the XVIIth century.

The same characteristics, then, are found in the dances offered by Kotter. Most of them (there are seven in the two manuscripts) are in a slow triple-rhythm, as, for example, are the following measures:

Ex. 19

Hans Weck: Ein ander Tanz



¹⁷ See Wilhelm Merian, *Der Tanz in den deutschen Tabulaturbüchern*, 1927.

¹⁸ Cf. *Monatshfte für Musikgeschichte*, 1875, Musikbeilage.

¹⁹ Reprinted in *Musik aus früher Zeit*, after Petrucci's *Intabolatura de Lauto*, Lib. IV, Venice, 1508. Lib. I, published in 1507, was the first Italian tablature book.

Four of these pieces are termed *Spanioler*, i.e. Spanish dances, a designation pointing to a connection which we are unfortunately unable to trace, because of a lack of contemporary Spanish sources. In three instances a dance is paired with a *Nachttanz* ("After Dance") in a different rhythm, as had been some of the above-mentioned German dances of ca. 1460, and as was to become customary in the dance music of the ensuing years.²⁰ It is precisely from the prior coupling of two dances that the Suite of the XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries derived. Among the *Nachtänze* in Kotter's tablature, the one to the Weck dance just quoted is particularly interesting. For it is a true variation, at a faster pace, of the dance to which it is appended. Here is the beginning:



Handel is still influenced by such a use of dance variation, as becomes evident from a comparison with the Allemandes and Courantes in his Suites.

Just as the preambles in our tablatures are important because, as the first steps towards a genuine keyboard music, they mark a separation from the style of vocal music, so the dances are important because they mark another separation—that of the stringed keyboard instruments (the harpsichord and clavichord) from the organ. So far as surviving documents show, it is in Kotter's tablature that this new and highly significant step in the history of keyboard music is made, ushering in and advancing at least a short distance on its way a literature specifically for *Klavier*.²¹ We have already mentioned that the existence of stringed keyboard instruments is vouched for by literary and pictorial evidence as far back as ca. 1250, but no actual music has come down to us for them from before 1513.

It must be admitted, of course, that the idea of dividing composition

²⁰ It may be noted that the quantity of dance music of the XVIth century preserved in lute tablatures is about ten times as great as that in the organ tablatures.

²¹ Cf. Merian, *Op. cit.*, Introduction. We use *Klavier* here as a generic term for all stringed keyboard instruments of the time.

into several different branches, each pertaining to a special instrument, belongs essentially to a much later period. If one is prompted, as is perhaps natural to a person living today, to characterize a particular dance in some old tablature as genuine *Klavier* music, and to contrast it, let us say, with a *Resonet in laudibus*, classifying the latter as pure organ music, there may be some *prima facie* evidence for the distinction. Apparently a difference in style really exists, parallel to that between secular music and sacred. Nevertheless, even before such convincing examples as we have purposely chosen—or perhaps because of them—it is only fair to point out that the question of the interrelationship between a piece of music and the means of its performance was regarded, in the remote period with which we are concerned, very differently from the way it is today, or was at the time of Beethoven or Mozart. In the old days—and I believe we are right in saying even up to Bach—execution was a matter of decidedly minor importance to the composer, even, sometimes, of none. His intention was only to write music, and he thus differs considerably from a man like Beethoven who writes not merely music, but music for a special instrument or group of instruments. The change in attitude is doubtless closely connected with the appearance of the executant as an independent artist and with the arrival, in the XVIIth century, of a musical public and public performances. Even with Bach, we encounter works of such a transcendental character as “pure music” that they are suitable for any instrument or for none—as, for example, the *Kunst der Fuge* and some parts of the *Musikalisches Opfer*. As for the XVIth century, we need point only to such descriptions, incorporated in titles, as *per ogni sorte di strumenti* or, in Cabezon’s collection of 1575, *para tecla arpa y vihuela*—“for keyboard instruments, harp, or lute.”



Although, in the history of the fine arts, the Renaissance is regarded as ending early in the XVIth century, we are justified in speaking of Renaissance *music* as lasting all through the century and even into the first decades of the next. To be sure, the year 1600 marks a turning-point in our art. A new style begins then, but, for a while, the earlier style continues beside it and retains unaltered the old, typically Renaissance

features. Thus, the two periods already considered in our survey of keyboard music are followed by another—embracing the end of the XVIth century and the beginning of the XVIIth—which may be called the Late Renaissance. The main documents of this period are:

Elias Nicolaus Ammerbach: *Orgel oder Instrument Tabulatur . . .*,

Leipzig, 1571 (new editions from 1575 and 1583);

Bernhard Schmid (the elder): *Zwey Bücher einer Neuen Kunstlichen Tabulatur . . .*, Strasbourg, 1577;

Jacob Paix: *Ein Schön Nutz und Gebreuchlich Orgel Tabulaturbuch . . .*, Lauingen, 1583;


Christoph Löffelholtz: Tablature in manuscript, 1585 (State Library, Berlin, mus. ms. 40034);

Augustus Nörmiger: Tablature in manuscript, 1598 (State Library, Berlin, mus. ms. 40098);

Bernhard Schmid (the younger): *Tabulaturbuch von Allerhand ausserlesenen . . . Præludis, Toccaten . . . Passomezen und Galliarden . . .*, Strasbourg, 1607;

Johann Woltz: *Nova musices organæ tabulatura . . .*, Basle, 1617.

Concerning the musicians themselves, we shall limit ourselves to a few brief data. Ammerbach was born at Naumburg in 1530, served as organist at the church of St. Thomas in Leipzig from 1561 to 1595, and died in 1597. Bernhard Schmid the elder (*ca.* 1520-1590) was organist at Strasbourg. Jacob Paix, probably of Netherlandish descent, was born at Augsburg in 1556, became organist at Lauingen (Swabia), and died in 1617. Christoph Löffelholtz is the only man in this group who came from Northern Germany: he was a native of Kolberg, a small town on the coast of the Baltic Sea. Augustus Nörmiger was organist at the court of the Duke of Saxony at Dresden, where he wrote his tablature for his patron's daughter, the Duchess Sophia. Bernhard Schmid the younger was the son of his namesake and his father's successor as organist at Strasbourg. Woltz was organist at Heilbronn.

We find a much revised notation in all the tablatures of this period, the so-called "new German organ tablature." The illustration opposite p. 227 shows its characteristics. The notes have vanished entirely, each voice being now written exclusively in letters. The outstanding features of this notation are the numerous strokes and cross-beams. These indicate the time-values and the octaves within which the notes lie. For example, in the figure at the beginning of the first staff,  ,

the upper cross-beam and the three down-strokes belong together and indicate three eighth-notes, while the two lower cross-beams belong with the notes written below them and designate the two-lined octave. It is often difficult to determine what letters are intended, since, on the one hand, their shapes vary from one manuscript to another, while, on the other hand, the shapes of c and e are frequently much alike within a single manuscript. In our illustration, the first and third letters of the upper voice, measure 2, are c's, while the two letters in the third voice (tenor), just beneath, are e's. The lowest octave used is indicated by means of capital letters: thus, the fifth letter in the lowest voice is G. In the second staff (106, *Ein feiner deutscher Tantz*) a loop appears several times, affixed to a letter. This loop (or *is-Schleife*) is the sign for chromatic alteration: thus, the fourth letter in the upper voice is an altered c (*c-is*), that is, c-sharp, and the first letter of the third voice is an altered f (*f-is*), that is, f-sharp. Here are transcriptions of the two first measures in the first staff and of the first measure in the second:



Although one should exercise discretion in condemning the peculiarities and apparent eccentricities of the distant past, since they usually prove quite reasonable if viewed in the light of surrounding circumstances, one cannot help feeling that there is little sense and no progress in this last phase of German tablature-notation. It is especially strange that the new method should have been invented at a time when the other countries—England, Italy, France—had long since used the piano-score of our own days, and stranger still that the German musicians should, in part, have kept to their old-fashioned notation as late as the middle of the XVIIIth century. In fact, the clinging to this notation seems to be one of those queer phenomena that one sometimes encounters in the annals of German history. Still, there is a considerable value in this oddity—as perhaps in some others. Indeed, the clumsy letters used by the German writers display one great advantage over

the notes of the foreign tablatures: they leave, as we have already made clear, absolutely no doubt with regard to chromatic alteration. Since the mensural codices of the XVth and XVIth centuries are extremely equivocal on this point, it is evident that the German tablatures may make some most helpful contributions towards a solution of the problem of *musica ficta*.²²

The contents of the tablatures listed above consist chiefly of two different kinds of music: dances and transcriptions of vocal pieces—preambles and *cantus firmus* settings have entirely disappeared. The tablature of Bernhard Schmid the son offers, in addition, many organ compositions by Andrea and Giovanni Gabrieli, while the tablature of Woltz includes compositions by some masters of the early Baroque period—Lohet, Luyton, Steigleder. Several of these works are not preserved in any other print.

It would not be profitable to dwell here on the musical aspects of the transcriptions, of which these tablatures contain far too many, especially since they are overdecorated with coloration, applied to them in even worse taste than it had been to earlier pieces of the same sort. Hence the disdainful designation, "Colorists," commonly assigned to the authors of these tablatures. The profusion of transcriptions is not without interest from a cultural and social viewpoint, however, particularly when compared with the superabundance, in the late XIXth century, of piano transcriptions. The similarity that strikes one immediately is not the product of mere chance. In both periods, the cultivation of art expanded beyond a small group of artists and amateurs until it embraced the great multitude of the middle classes. The growth was attended, again in both periods, by an increasing demand—a real hunger—for music, and recourse was naturally had to the most popular and easily available source, vocal music. In 1580 as in 1880, musical production to a large extent took its bearings purely from business requirements, so that the standards of the purveyors corresponded to the taste of the public—and both were rather low. "Gems from the Operas, transcribed for Piano by ————" is the exact equivalent of "*Theatrum musicum cui authorum præstantissimorum carmina selectissima sunt inserta*."

The lack of creative power and originality shown by the excess of

²² See E. Frerichs, *Die Accidentien in Orgeltablaturen*, in *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, VII (1924), 99; Willi Apel, the monograph cited in footnote 12.

mere transcriptions and the bad taste displayed by *Koloraturen und Leufflin* such as these

Ex. 22

B. Schmid (the elder): Transcription of a 6-part composition by Crequillon



have aroused the indignation of many writers, especially of A. G. Ritter in his "Geschichte des Orgelspiels im 14. bis 18. Jahrhundert." Influenced by his very severe strictures, music historians have grown accustomed to looking upon this period as one of decay, as one representing the lowest level reached in the history of German music.

But the verdict is unjust and needs to be altered. Ritter was absorbed in the subject of organ music and was very likely looking for signs of a serious interest in the advancement of instrumental style. In this respect it must be admitted that the men responsible for the organ tablatures of our third period displayed grave shortcomings, so far as transcriptions were concerned, shortcomings which they shared, however, with many of their contemporaries among the lutenists not only of Germany but of Italy and France. But the transcriptions by no means comprise the sole contents of the organ tablatures. There are dances—almost in the same quantity—which are much more deserving of consideration, works of remarkable originality, historical importance, and artistic value. It is these rather than the transcriptions that present the "Colorists" in their true light. It is through such pieces that they provide an important contribution towards the development of German dance-music which, in the following century, was able to boast of the Suites of Bach and Handel. In making this contribution they created a music of firmly knit unity and great impressiveness, a music affording a

wealth of interesting details and pleasant surprises, a music displaying a really national stamp and excelling by far the corresponding production of Italy and France. The independence from foreign influences, shown, on the whole, by the dance music of the Colorists, deserves all the more recognition in view of the great extent to which German vocal music was at the same time indebted to Italian and French prototypes. To be sure, there are some dances here and there that are taken over from the Italians as, for instance, the *Passamezzi* and *Gaillards* in *Paix* and in both the *Schmids*. But there remains a vast majority of dances that are of purely German origin and style, offering a very charming picture of German culture before the Thirty Years War and meriting special attention as the last records of an independent German music before the *Lied* of the XIXth century.

The variety of these dances²³ is too great to permit an extended discussion here. There are *Liedtänze*, built upon folk-songs (e.g., *Es het ein Baur sein Freylein verlohren*); there are court-dances (e.g., *Ein guter Hofdantz*); there are character-dances such as *Der Mohren Aufzugkh*, *Der Schefer Tantz*, and the *Toden Tantz*; there are dances like *Ballo Angelese*, *Ballo Millanese*, *Ungarescha*, and *Ein gutter polnischer danncz*, which supply evidence of the penetration of foreign customs into the social life of Germany. But the music of these last pieces is itself neither English, Italian, Hungarian, nor Polish; it exhibits the same basic cast throughout, a character of imperturbable complacency and unique charm. Robust rhythm is wedded to graceful melody. Nörmiger's tablature may be specially singled out as a collection of delightful music, containing (according to the title): *Auffzüge*, *Passamedi*, *Galliarde*, *Polnische Teutsche und andre Tentze*, *neben gewöhnlichen auff und abführungen Fürstlicher Personen wann sich dieselben zum Tantz begeben* ("Pageants, Passamezzi, Gaillards, Polish, German and other Dances as well as the customary entrances and exits of Princely Personages when they betake themselves to Dance"). It includes a *Churf. Sachs. Witwen Erster Mummerey Tantz* ("First Mask of the Widow of the Elector of Saxony"); a *Der Heyligenn drey Könige Aufzugkh* ("Procession of the Three Holy Kings"), a *Mattasin oder Toden Tantz* ("Dance of Death"). The last-named piece is particularly remarkable for its use of syncopation in a truly modern way. Its beginning is reproduced below together with another dance of Nörmiger's

²³ For reprints see the works by Merian, Halbig, and Apel, cited in footnote 13.

which, by virtue of its title (*Kerabe*—i.e., *Kehraus* or “Last Dance”) furnishes a perhaps not unfitting close to our survey of German keyboard music of the Renaissance.

Ex. 23*Mattasin oder Toden Tantz*

VIEWS AND REVIEWS

HIS passing should not go unrecorded here. Beyond the grave, what is there if not remembrance, modest rosemary, fragrant with recent but irrecoverable yesterdays? For nearly twenty years, Julien Tiersot was a frequent and valued contributor to these pages. The first of his seventeen articles written for *The Musical Quarterly* was printed in the July number, 1917, or in war-times, when even discussions of music and musicians were apt to be tinged with bellicose reflections. That first article, for the young magazine, sought to compare Berlioz and Wagner, two composers whose lives and works occupied much of Tiersot's research and study. Because Tiersot was a true Frenchman, and the Germans had dug trenches into the soil of his land, to which they had given the proud names of "Wotan" and "Siegfried," it was excusable if the comparison did not wholly favor Wagner, who was roundly berated as "one of the most orthodox forerunners of that pan-Germanism whose motto is *Deutschland über alles*." Tiersot's last article in the *Quarterly*, on "Liszt in France," appeared in the issue of July, 1936; and shortly afterwards, on August 10, in the beginning of his eightieth year, he died—"la plume à la main," according to a French necrologist, which is as good as "in the saddle." There is no better death, they say.

Jean Baptiste Elisée Julien Tiersot—to give him his full name—possessed to a high degree that enviable disposition known in German as *Sitzfleisch*, politely Englished as "sticktoitiveness"; he was the ideal type of what the French call a *rond-de-cuir*, the holder of an office whose world lies comfortably within the orbit of a swivel-chair. These remarks are not intended to be slighting. Though neither a compelling personality nor a provocative thinker, Tiersot was an indefatigable student, a hard toiler. The world would be decidedly poorer without his kind. He inherited musical aptitudes, and he accumulated, in the course of his life, a large fund of erudition comparable to the slow but solid accretions produced by coral-building animalcula. Thus are the humble foundations laid for any scholarly pursuit. The tall and plumed palms of learning need the atoll to root in.

After a brief and abortive fling at medicine during the early 1870's, Tiersot entered in 1876 the hallowed precincts of the Paris Conserva-

toire, which for nearly fifty years remained the center of his activities. Although neither Massenet nor Franck, whose classes he attended, was able to turn him into a great composer (such orchestral works of his as were played by Lamoureux and Colonne soon disappeared from the concert repertoire), he acquired from his eminent teachers an excellent schooling and the tricks of a handicraft—the necessary *métier*—, which later on stood him so well in the preparation of his exemplary collections of French national airs and folk-songs.

Tiersot's plodding ways must have attracted the notice of the conservatorial authorities. In 1883, he was appointed assistant librarian of the Conservatoire, and prentice to no less a personage than the prodigious Jean-Baptiste Weckerlin who in 1876—upon the death of his predecessor, the composer Félicien David—had been entrusted with the custody of the Conservatoire's priceless manuscripts and prints. Weckerlin continued in charge of them until he retired in 1909, having achieved the dignity of an institution. Thereupon Tiersot became chief librarian. In 1921, under circumstances not quite translucent to the naked eye, he was cordially ushered out and pensioned. The "spoils-system" is not exclusive with our government. Henry Expert was appointed as worthy successor to Tiersot in the position—at present occupied by our good friend, J.-G. Prod'homme, whose bibliothecal directorship extends also to the vast treasures of the Paris Opera museum and library, happily spared in last year's fire.

What did they accomplish, these several librarians? An enormous quantity of honest labor, to their own greater glory, and much that has served to advance the ends of musicology; but comparatively little for the collection itself, or for the better and more general knowledge of it. Tiersot is said to have made, during his thirty-eight years in the library of the Conservatoire, a card index—a *fichier*—for a substantial part of its contents, but to have regarded this catalogue as his private property and to have calmly taken it along when for the last time he picked up his hat and overcoat. Even librarians are human and not devoid of spite. There remained, for a while, that ambulatory and never failing oracle, white-bearded and affable *père* Matthieu, who had the inestimable virtue of knowing not only what was in the library but where it could be found. He was the paragon of a factotum, he was the only one who could lead you to the fabled riches of Golconda and prove them actual. Tiersot had mined long and assiduously, he had dug deep and brought to light many a glistening jewel, some precious and some semi-precious. The sum total

of his travail securely established him in the front rank of French musicologists. He was a founder of the "Société Française de Musicologie" and one of its past-presidents. At his death he belonged to the Society's important Committee on Publications.

There was hardly a province of music that Tiersot did not explore. With the passion that claustral souls have for the strange and distant, he indulged in a lasting *penchant* for musical exotics. After having captured, like every good Frenchman, some prize-award or other, he launched out in earnest on his journeys with a slender volume of "Musiques pittoresques, Promenades musicales à l'Exposition de 1889," published by Fischbacher (still a friend of music) in the year of the *Exposition Universelle* that gave to the world the Eiffel tower, and to young Debussy the chance of acquainting himself with outlandish instruments, scales, and tunes. Tiersot was then thirty-two years old, no longer a "mere chicken." Fate allowed him forty-seven years to make up for lost time. There were, above all, the volumes of French folk-songs, including those songs transplanted from France to the United States and Canada (Tiersot came to our shores and lectured on his pet hobby); the "Chansons nègres," collected, translated and harmonized; the "Notes d'ethnographie musicale," relating to the Chinese, Japanese, and Indo-Chinese, with excursions into Hindu, Armenian, and Arabian music. Commend us to the Latin Quarter—a sixth floor walkup—for a point of vantage in surveying the globe! Tiersot did not, with all his love for the unusual and remote, forget his *patelin*, his native bailiwick. The French government had the good sense to employ him in collecting French folk-songs. (What is the American government and its musical WPA doing along similar lines?) The result of the search exceeded all hopes. What Tiersot brought home in his song-bag was not a brace of dead ducks, but a lavish bouquet of live wild-flowers, fresh with unfading scent, picked from the salty shore, the fertile lowlands, and the alpine heights of Savoy and the Dauphiné.

Tiersot, the patriot, was not a chauvinist. That is made evident by his sustained endeavor, before 1914, to "interpret" Wagner, the arch-enemy, to his French countrymen. He was one of an intrepid little band that helped to make the Nibelungen eventually a box-office magnet at the Paris Opéra. When *Tristan* achieved the "S. R. O." sign at the Opéra Comique—only within the last decade or so—the triumph of the German *Zukunftsmusiker* in France could be called complete. Some sixty years before—in February, 1860—Wagner had indited one of his

periodical encyclics, to Berlioz this time, on the subject of "the art-work of the future." He railed at his French colleague for misunderstanding and mocking the "musique de l'avenir." It is not surprising that, in France, it took this "future" so long to emerge victoriously from the cocoon of Wagnerian theories and insults. Tiersot did much in freeing the chrysalis.

If music was an integral part of the "poet" in Wagner, Tiersot saw poetry as naturally wedded to the music of its time. Witness his book on "Ronsard et la musique de son temps" (1903), in which he discusses Certon (the eminent disciple of Josquin des Prés), Goudimel ("l'un des premiers musiciens de son temps," as he was called in 1587, who imprudently set Clément Marot's Psalm translations and was murdered during the Huguenot blood-purge, in August 1572), Janequin (the greatest representative of the *a cappella* chanson), Mauduit (who wrote a *Requiem* for the poet), and some of the lesser musicians who found in Ronsard's verses inspiration. Tiersot's concern with the interrelation between music and French literature did not stop with Ronsard. Nearly twenty years later (1922), he published "La Musique dans la comédie de Molière." Nor are his books on the popular and national airs of France unmindful of the predominant part played by the words of these songs. In his "J.-J. Rousseau" (1912), Tiersot depicted the perfect amalgamation of *littérateur*, philosopher, musician, and the first real Romantic.

When writing about "La Chanson populaire et les écrivains romantiques" (1931), Tiersot headed one chapter with Chateaubriand, another with Gérard de Nerval (sweet singer who crucified himself on a lamp-post), a third with George Sand, thus showing how certain poets and novelists had been instrumental in gathering and resurrecting the folklore of different French provinces. This book is typical of Tiersot, a delightful and leisurely ramble through the romantic groves, where pretty lyrics and prettier tunes grow upon evergreens.

Who has not felt the strange magic of those tenderly melancholic lines: "Nous n'irons plus au bois, les lauriers sont coupés"? Are we not all faced, sooner or later, with the realization that our laurels are cut? George Sand, remembering her childhood, wrote about these words:

I had never been in the woods, and perhaps I had never seen a laurel tree; but apparently I knew what they meant, for these two little verses made me dream

prodigiously. What was the idea of this naive poet who thus began the most naive of dances?

If it was the loamy smells of field and forest, the simple loves or tragedies of maid and swain that inspired most of the folk-songs which Tiersot collected, it was the pungent fumes of powder, the thunder of guns, the cruel strife of warfare and fratricide that informed the songs which made up his monumental volume on "*Les Fêtes et les chants de la révolution française*" (1908) and his "*L'Histoire de la Marseillaise*" (1915). Had the French Revolution brought forth nothing else but the song of Rouget de Lisle, we should know how to measure by it the fighting spirit, the aspirations, the iron will of those men—and women—who were ready to lay down their lives for the sake of establishing illusory equality, fraternity, and liberty in this world. People on our planet, avowedly, are still fighting and still are killing each other to the same purpose. But they have furnished no match for the marching song of the men from Marseilles—neither in the "*Internationale*" nor in the "*Horst Wessel Lied*." Music can be the yard-stick of political strength or impotence.

The last volume of his that Tiersot prepared for the press has recently appeared. It is the second volume in his collection of "*Lettres de musiciens écrites en français, du XV^e au XX^e siècle*" (Turin, Fratelli Bocca, 1936). The first volume, published in 1924, covered the period between 1480 and 1830, or three hundred and fifty years. The second volume spans the years between 1831 and 1885, or only a little more than half a century. Musical correspondents had become more abundant and more prolix.

Musicians do not necessarily always write entertaining or instructive letters. Some of them play, sing, or compose indifferently, and their letters are no better. Others put into their correspondence more of the sparkle and essence of their personality than is found in their music. One of the first voluminous letter-writing composers, Mozart, was also one of the best. The travels of his early years gave him exceptional opportunities for lively and amusing reports to whatever members of the family remained at home in Salzburg. Sometimes, in order to hoodwink an overanxious or irascible parent, he could be a trifle disingenuous. His letters to the "Bäse," the little cousin in Augsburg, with their puerile pornography, bring up the question: how much of a person's correspondence should ever meet the eye of anyone other than the addressee? To which another question might be added: how many

among our Great write their epistles, not to one individual, but with an eye on posterity?

There is no doubt that the biographer has no richer source than the letters from and to his subject. Beethoven's, Chopin's, Mendelssohn's, and especially Liszt's and Wagner's innumerable letters are indispensable to anyone who wants to know these men. Wagner's letters, written in French, form a volume of more than four hundred pages, collected and published by Tiersot in 1935. Those written by him in German, though already gathered into a formidable line of books, are by no means completely published. New ones still turn up now and then. And to every scrap of the Master's attaches some peculiar significance, even if the motive for writing it is not always edifying. Tchaikovsky's correspondence, particularly that which passed between him and his eccentric friend, Mme. de Meck, has been the basis for a new "life" of his, recently issued. And since more of these letters are yet to be published or translated, we may expect still another and yet more unblushing "life" founded on hitherto unused material. We have already been presented with "The Unconscious Beethoven" and "The Unknown Brahms." We should prepare ourselves for "The Unspeakable Tchaikovsky," "The Unbelievable Mozart," and "The Unimaginable Chopin." All of which should be a warning: write as little as you can, to as few people as possible, and burn the letters you receive—including love letters, alack-a-day!

Since Tiersot does not limit his collection to French correspondents, but includes any musician writing in French, it so happens that in this second volume the first letters are those of an Italian, Rossini, and the last those of a Hungarian, Liszt. Rossini's use of French idioms does him credit; not so his orthography. His French spelling is occasionally phonetic, that is phonetic to an Italian ear. The result is baffling. Writing to the Marquis de las Marismas, in 1834, Rossini asked him to tear up the letter because of its bad French. Unnecessary scruple: among the bold of this earth are many valiant mis-spellers.

Of especial interest is one letter addressed by Rossini to the Vicomte Sosthène de la Rochefoucault, minister of fine-arts, from Castenaso, near Bologna, on May 4, 1830. It discloses that, if Rossini's operatic career ended with "William Tell," it was largely owing to the fact that the reign of the Bourbons in France ended with the overthrow of Charles X. That is unsuspected intelligence, and exonerates Rossini somewhat from the age-old accusation that the triumph of "Tell" had thrust him into

the numbing arms of slothful satiety. The truth is that Rossini was waiting for a new libretto "pour pousser vivement mon opéra, car je tiens à vous prouver par mon travail et mon zèle tout mon dévouement, mon attachement, et le désir que j'ai toujours de vous plaire, mais je ne puis travailler sans poème." That indeed was sufficient reason for Rossini's inactivity which, from acute, turned into chronic. His laziness eventually crowned him with an aureole; but the golden halo was no substitute for the pecuniary obligations assumed by Charles X and repudiated by Louis-Philippe, the bourgeois-king. Rossini, as Tiersot shows by a letter dated Paris, June 27, 1833, kept on demanding that his pension of six-thousand francs annually be paid, with arrears. He finally won his case by a decision of the Comité des Finances, on December 24, 1835. The thread of his inspiration, however, was torn in the wrangle. He preferred to retire, sulkily, to his tent, and receive the homage of old and young who saw in him a glorious relic.

When Rossini's first wife, Isabella Colbran, a remarkable singer, from whom he had been legally separated since 1837, died in 1845, he married Olympe Pélissier, reputed to have been very beautiful and to have posed, in her early years, for the painter Horace Vernet. Whatever her charms, she certainly wielded a tactful pen, as is demonstrated by a letter, in Tiersot's volume, which she wrote to young Weckerlin, asking him not to come to one of Rossini's *soirées musicales*, because Weckerlin's estranged wife was expected to grace the occasion with her singing. The letter is a model of diplomacy and might well serve as an example to any hostess, nowadays, who finds herself in a similar predicament—which is not rare—of having to keep asunder such guests as have chosen to rend their matrimonial ties or are no longer on speaking terms.

It is a real temptation to go on quoting from this collection of letters. Many of them are highly interesting. Adolphe Adam writes to his brother from Saint Petersburg in November, 1839, an account of his reception by the Czar who had commissioned him to compose a ballet: "Taglioni [brother of the famous dancer Marie Taglioni] has read me his libretto. It is idiotic." Which is characteristic of not a few ballets. And this from the same letter:

There is a young violinist here of immense talent, by the name of Vieuxtemps [born in 1820]; he is not only a player but a composer of distinction. I have heard a splendid concerto of his. . . . This is an agreeable land. Prince Galizine [born in 1795, assassinated in 1866; known in musical history for having commissioned

three of Beethoven's last string quartets] has in his palace a charming concert hall. He gives the use of it *free* to the artists, lighting included. No expenses, therefore, and it is there that the four concerts will be given, each consisting of six numbers. Not as in London, where a program must have twenty-four!

The chapter on Meyerbeer is especially rich in material, because Tiersot had under his hands the abundant stores of letters and other papers of the composer's that now repose in the library of the Conservatoire. A clause in Meyerbeer's will enjoined his heirs to see that none of the manuscripts or sketches found among his music should be published as "posthumous compositions." He did not include his letters in this injunction. Tiersot, having had access to all of these papers, tells us that their number and nature is such as to constitute the makings of a full-length autobiography. Meyerbeer wrote fluently in German, French, and Italian. His music, also, was polyglot.

This volume of letters—passing on from Berlioz to lesser composers, to great singers (would that we might transcribe here some of the Gallic wit of Gustave Roger, the one-armed tenor), spectacular virtuosos, and winding up with fabulous Liszt—was intended to have a sequel. Tiersot did not live to see its publication. That his diligent and patient work has ceased, is a great loss to music. He has earned a secure and lasting place among those who have done most to preserve and give out the treasures that France has bequeathed to musical culture. This anthill of ours has no inhabitant more precious than the busy ant—unless it be the chirping cigala, old La Fontaine notwithstanding.

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When we began writing these pages, we had no thought that, before we were done with them, there would arise the sad necessity of our bidding another collaborator a last farewell. He was a late-comer: the first of his two articles, "The Opera Walks New Paths," appeared as recently as July, 1935, and the second one, "Liszt and His Critics," a year later. But he was no mere tiro then. We had examined and cherished plans for further articles of his, and were looking forward to a long list of them, now cut too short, alas! He joined the writers for the Quarterly after having gained a brilliant and honored name as the author of a large and varied array of books on music—honored, that is, the world over, except in his own land, which cast him out at the height of a distinguished career.

Paul Bekker came to America in the autumn of 1934, exiled and

deprived of his civic rights by the Nazi government. It redounds to the credit of the *New Yorker Staats-Zeitung* that the editors of this paper had the courage and wisdom of summoning Bekker from Paris, where he had joined the colony of German refugees, and of engaging him as their chief reviewer of musical affairs in our town. The group of our learned music critics could boast of no better equipped or more experienced member. Bekker had been a violinist in the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra under Nikisch; he was Heinrich Reimann's successor as expounder of these programs; he had conducted opera; as a critic his authority was undisputed; he was the gonfalonier of the "new music," but he had little use for modernistic shams and freaks, and he could spot them.

It seemed regrettable that Bekker's searching reviews were accessible only to a public that reads German. He applied himself bravely to conquering the intricacies of the English language, and he succeeded so well that, last December, he had the satisfaction of seeing his first work written in English, "The Story of the Orchestra," leave the press of a New York publisher, who had previously brought out translations of several of Bekker's German books, notably "The Story of Music" and his splendid monograph on Richard Wagner.

If Wagner was responsible, in part, for the pan-Germanistic movement, an even larger share of the blame for other and later aberrations of the German mind must fall upon him. To be sure, his garrulous heroes and amorous heroines, clad in pink tights and dubious pelts, continue to provide some of the few tolerable nights left in the opera house. But the gods of Valhalla have run amuck; the Norns keep fumbling with their fateful rope more carelessly than ever. And music is again a victim.

The Norns put their shears to Bekker's strand of life on the morning of Sunday, March 7, the day on which his last *feuilleton* appeared in the *Staats-Zeitung*. It brought to a conclusion the first publication of certain letters that Ferruccio Busoni had addressed to Bekker some fifteen years ago. These letters are thoroughly characteristic of Busoni and very revealing from many points of view. But of singular interest and moment are some of Bekker's apposite comments upon them; especially this summing up of the last letter, dated May 7, 1924, written two months before Busoni's death:

This letter voices the inner hopelessness of one who, realizing the uselessness of resistance, is still resolved to carry on the fight to the last.

Bekker could not more accurately have described his own plight. Perhaps he instinctively knew that with these words he was diagnosing his own case. Mortally ill for the last six months, broken in health because crushed in spirit, he nevertheless "carried on" indomitably until the end.

Here was a man upon whom future generations will probably place a higher value than did even his contemporaries. His book on Beethoven, which has already passed through many editions, is likely to remain, with Thayer's "life," the standard text upon the master. Bekker's catholicism is proved by his appreciation of the significant rôle played by frivolous Jacques Offenbach (1909). Musical history will not forget that Bekker was one of the first to hail the adventurous Mahler, Schreker, and Schönberg. He was philosopher and aesthete. His book on the erotic element in music probes into the metaphysics of physical love and beauty. At the same time he was a realist, a realizer. In his capacity of director of the state theaters at Cassel (1925) and later at Wiesbaden (1927)—the two opera houses that used to rank with the royal theaters in Berlin—he had ample opportunity to put into practice his sound and novel theories about the opera, an art-form especially near to his heart, one upon which he had long and deeply meditated, as proved in his illuminating volume on "The Changing Opera."

When Bekker died, at the age of fifty-four, he was still a "young man," ready and eager to give of his inexhaustible store of sagacious judgment and constructive advice. His last article in the *Staats-Zeitung* ends with a reference to Bach and Mozart: "both belong to the torch-bearers of the future, in both we see embodied the longing for new things, the Genius of Youth." Bekker was of this company, this *élite* of torch-bearers. He could be gently ironic; his pessimism was of the smiling kind. Despite the adversities of existence, he retained his faith in the future, in the genius of youth—even though, with his keen insight into human frailty, he may have known this faith to be no more than the sweet draught with which we mortals swallow the bitter pill of our decrepitude and evanescence. But we are really of little consequence. What matters is that the torch be kept alight and held aloft.

C. E.



QUARTERLY BOOK-LIST

PREPARED BY EDWARD N. WATERS

ENGLISH

**AMERICAN SOCIETY OF COMPOSERS, AUTHORS
AND PUBLISHERS**

Program listings, 1935. 697 p, 4°. New
York: The Society, 1936.

ARNOLD, J. H.

The approach to plainsong through the
office hymn. 31 p. London: Oxford Uni-
versity Press.

AYARS, CHRISTINE MERRICK

Contributions to the art of music in America
by the music industries of Boston, 1640 to
1936. xv, 326 p, 8°. New York: The H. W.
Wilson Co., 1937.

BECKWITH, WILLIAM HUNTER

The formation of the esthetic of Romain
Rolland. (Diss., New York University.)
iv, 27 p, 8°. New York: New York Uni-
versity, Graduate School, 1936.

THE BEETHOVEN ASSOCIATION, INC.

Annual report, July 20, 1936. 36 p, 12°.
New York: The Association.

BINGHAM, WALTER VAN DYKE

Aptitudes and aptitude testing. Published
for the National Occupational Conference.
ix, 390 p, 8°. New York: Harper &
Brothers, 1937. [Includes discussion of
music.]

BLEGEN, THEODORE C., AND MARTIN B. RUUD

Norwegian emigrant songs and ballads.
Edited and translated. Songs harmonized by
Gunnar J. Malmin. 350 p, 8°. Minneapolis:
The University of Minnesota Press, 1936.

BOWEN, CATHERINE DRINKER, AND

BARBARA VON MECK

Beloved friend; the story of Tchaikowsky
and Nadejda von Meck. 484 p, 8°. New
York: Random House, 1937.

**BRITISH MUSEUM. DEPARTMENT OF PRINTED
BOOKS**

Rules for compiling the catalogues of printed

books, maps and music in the British
Museum. Revised edition. 68 p, 8°.
London: British Museum, 1936.

BUCHANAN, FANNIE REBECCA

Stories of American music. 48 p, 8°.
Chicago: Follett Publishing Co., 1937.

THE BUNTING COLLECTION OF IRISH FOLK MUSIC

AND SONGS. Edited from the original manu-
scripts by D. J. O'Sullivan. Part V. (Journal
of the Irish Folk Song Society, London, vol.
27.) xiv, 116 p, 8°. London: C. J. Farn-
combe & Sons, Ltd., 1936.

CERNIKOFF, VLADIMIR

Humour and harmony. 308 p, 8°. London:
Arthur Barker, Ltd., 1936.

CHAPMAN, F. B.

Flute technique. 58 p. London: Oxford
University Press.

CHRISTMAS CAROLS OF GERMANY. 14 p, 8°.

Berlin: The Terramare Office, 1936. [With
numerous facsimiles.]

COOPERSMITH, J. M.

The libretto of Handel's "Jupiter in Argos."
Reprinted from "Music and Letters," Octo-
ber, 1936. 8 p, 8°. London: "Music and
Letters," 1936.

CUTHBERT, MARION

We sing America. viii, 117 p, 8°. New
York: Friendship Press, 1936. [Includes
musical contributions of the Negro.]

DALTRY, JOSEPH S.

Musical appreciation for undergraduates. iv,
130 p, 4°. Middletown, Conn.: The Author,
1936. [Mimeographed.]

DESPARD, MABEL H.

The music of the United States, its sources
and history. A short outline. 94 p, 4°. New
York: J. H. H. Muirhead, 1936.

DETHERIDGE, JOSEPH

Chronology of music composers. Foreword
by Sir Granville Bantock. Part I: From the

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QUARTERLY RECORD-LIST



PREPARED BY PHILIP MILLER

ALNAES, EYVIND

Lykken mellem to mennesker. Reverse: *Et Haab* (Grieg). Kirsten Flagstad, s; Edwin MacArthur, pf. Danish Gramophone DA 1516.

L'ANTHOLOGIE SONORE, Vols. 3 and 4

Monteverdi: *Ohimè, ch'io cado*; Manzoli: *Quando tu mi guardi; Se vedeste le piaghe*. Max Meili, t; hpschd. Disc 21.

Purcell: *The Golden Sonata*. J. Pasquier, vln; P. Ferret, hpschd. Disc 22.

Bach, J. S.: *Cantata no. 189, "Meine Seele rühmt und preist."* Max Meili, t; chamber orch. Disc 23.

Bach, J. S.: *Menuet; Polonaise; Menuet; March; Chorale*; Bach, C. P. E.: *Abschied von meinem Silbermannischen Claviere*. Erwin Bodky, clavichord. Disc 24.

Gabrieli, G.: *Sonata pian e forte; Canzona*. Brass and string ensemble. Disc 25.

Telemann: *Quartet in E minor*. Violin, flute, cello, harpsichord. Disc 26.

Brasart: *O flos flagrans (Motet)*. Lina Dauby, c; trio of mediaeval viols. Pierre de la Rue: *Autant en emporte le vent*; Obrecht: *Tsat een meskin*. Ensemble of mediaeval viols, lute, mediaeval harp, flutes. Disc 27.

Schuetz: *Three Geistliche Concerte: "Eile mich, Gott, zu erretten;" "Schaffe in mir, Gott;" "Die Furcht des Herren."* Max Meili, t; Suter-Moser, s; Le Marc-Hadour, bar; o. Disc 28.

Steffani: *Occhi perchè piangete*. J. Peretti, s; M. Whita, c; hpschd. Disc 29.

Rameau: *Pièce de clavecin en concert, no. 5 (La Forqueray; La Cupis; La Marais)*. J. Pasquier, vln; Eva Heinitz, gamba; P. Aubert, hpschd. Disc 30.

Machault: *Mass: Credo; Sanctus; Agnus Dei; Ite missa est*. Chorus and brass ensemble. Discs 31-2.

Scarlatti, A.: *Toccata and Fuga in D minor*; Zipoli: *Sarabanda and Canzona*. Ruggero Gerlin, hpschd. Disc 33.

Gregorian chant: *Respond gradual (Festival of St. Agatha); Easter Alleluia*. Chorus. Disc 34.

Dufay: *Mass "Se la face ay pale;" Kyrie; Alma redemptoris Mater*. Chorus. Disc 35.

Grotte: *Je suis amour*; Clemens non Papa; Aymer est ma vie; Anon.: *Il me suffit*. M. Whita, c; lute. Besard: *Villanelle by A. Dlugoraj*; *Branle gay*; *Les Cloches de Paris*; *English Dance after John Dowland*. Hermann Leeb, lute. Disc 36.

Vivaldi: *Concerto, Op. 3, no. 9, violin, orchestra and harpsichord, D major*. Jean Fournier, vln; ensemble. Bach, J. S.: *The same concerto, transcribed for harpsichord*. Solo. Ruggero Gerlin, hpschd. Discs 37-8.

Lantins: *Puisque je voy*; Binchois: *De plus en plus*; Grossin de Paris: *Va t'en soupir*. L. Dauby; H. Guermant; F. Anspach; acc. viols, lute, recorder. Disc 39.

Milan: *Three Pavaues*. Emilio Pujol, vihuela. Ortiz: *Ricercada*. Van Leeuwen Boomkamp, viola da gamba; hpschd. Disc 40.

AVSHALOMOFF, AARON

Concerto in G (Upon Chinese themes and rhythms). Gregory Singer, pf; Shanghai Municipal Orch.; con. Aaron Avshalomoff. Columbia set 286.

BACH, C. P. E. (See also *L'Anthologie Sonore*.) *Solleggio in E-flat; Alla Polacca; Solleggio in C minor; Largo in E; Fantasia in D; Fantasia in G*. Yella Pessl, hpschd. Columbia 17081-D.

BACH, J. S. (See also *L'Anthologie Sonore* and *Trois Siècles de musique d'orgue*.)

Chorale prelude: Schmücke dich, O liebe Seele. Noëlle Pierront, o. de Brisy 2.

Chorale preludes: Der Tag der ist so freudereich; Lobt Gott, ihr Christen allzugleich; Vom Himmel hoch; In dulci jubilo; Wir Christenleut. Noëlle Pierront, o. de Brisay 1.

Fantasia in G minor. Noëlle Pierront, o. de Brisay 3.

Italian Concerto; Fugue in C minor (from *Das Musikalische Opfer*). Ralph Kirkpatrick, hpschd. Musicraft 1006-1007.

Italian Concerto; Preludes 1, 2, 3 and Fugue (Little preludes and fugues). Wanda Landowska, hpschd. English Gramophone DB 5007-5008.

Komm, süßer Tod. Reverse: *L'Allegro: Siciliana* (Handel). Marian Anderson, c; Kosti Vehanan, pf. Danish Gramophone DA 1529.

Mass in B minor: Benedictus. Georges Thill, t; Henry Merckel, vln; orch. con. Gustave Bret. French Columbia LF 151.

Partita no. 2, in D minor. Nathan Milstein, vln. Columbia set 276.

Suites, orchestra, no. 1, C major, and no. 2, B minor. The Adolf Busch Chamber Players. con. Adolf Busch. Victor set M-332.

Suites, orchestra, no. 3, D major, and no. 4, D major. The Adolf Busch Chamber Players. con. Adolf Busch. English Gramophone DB 3018-22.

Toccata in D major; Fantasia in G minor; Fugue in C major. Yella Pessl, hpschd. Columbia set X-70.

Das wohltemperirte Clavier: Preludes and Fugues, nos. 11-19. Edwin Fischer, pf. English Gramophone DB 2944-50. The Bach Society, Vol. 4.

BALAKIREV, MILY

Islamey—Oriental fantasy. Simon Barer, pf. Victor 14028.

BEETHOVEN, LUDWIG VAN

Fidelio: Rezitativ und Arie des Florestan, Act 3. Franz Völker, t; Berlin State Opera Orch. con. Alois Melichar. U. S. Polydor 95055.

Leonore Overture, no. 3; Ruins of Athens: Overture, Op. 113. Vienna Philharmonic Orch. con. Bruno Walter. Victor 11958-9.

Quartet, Op. 59, no. 2, E minor. Budapest Quartet. English Gramophone DB 2907-10.

Quartet, Op. 59, no. 2, E minor: Quartet, Op. 18, no. 6, in B-flat major: Scherzo. Prisca Quartet. U. S. Polydor set BP 7.

Quartet, Op. 132, in A minor. Lener String Quartet. Columbia set 273.

Quintet, strings, Op. 29, in C major. Lener String Quartet; William Primrose, vla. English Columbia LX 546-9.

Serenade, strings, Op. 8. Pasquier Trio. French Pathé PAT 58-60.

Sonata, piano, Op. 57, F minor (Appassionata). Rudolf Serkin, pf. English Gramophone C 2879-81.

Sonata, piano, Op. 78, F-sharp major. Egon Petri, pf. English Columbia LX 576.

Sonata, piano, Op. 90, E minor. Egon Petri, pf. Columbia set X-71.

Sonata, piano, Op. 109, E major. Wilhelm Kempff, pf. Decca-Polydor CA 8266-7.

Symphony no. 3, E-flat, Op. 55 (Eroica). Vienna Phil. Orch. con. Felix Weingartner. Columbia set 285.

Symphony no. 6, F major, Op. 68 (Pastoral). Vienna Phil. Orch. con. Bruno Walter. English Gramophone DB 3051-5.

Symphony no. 8, F major, Op. 93. Vienna Phil. Orch. con. Felix Weingartner. English Columbia LX 563-5.

BERG, ALBAN

Suite lyrique. Galimir String Quartet of Vienna. U. S. Polydor set BP 2.

BERLIOZ, HECTOR

Le Carnaval romain, Overture, Op. 9. London Phil. Orch. con. Sir Thomas Beecham. English Columbia LX 570.

La Damnation de Faust: Rákóczy march; Presto and Waltz; Minuet of the Will-o'-the-wisps. Reverse: *Concerto no. 12: Larghetto* (Handel) Boston Symphony Orch. con. Serge Koussevitzky. Victor 14230-1.

BESARD, JEAN BAPTISTE (See *L'Anthologie sonore*.)

BINCHOIS, GILLES (See *L'Anthologie sonore*.)

BOCCHERINI, LUIGI

Quartet, Op. 33, no. 6, A major. Kreiner Quartet. The Friends of Recorded Music 1-2.

BRAHMS, JOHANNES

Hungarian dances: No. 18, D major; No. 19, B minor; No. 20, E minor; No. 21, E minor. Minneapolis Sym. Orch. con. Eugene Ormandy. Victor 1796.

Intermezzo, Op. 117, no. 1, E-flat; Intermezzo, Op. 117, no. 2, B-flat minor. Wilhelm Bachaus, pf. English Gramophone DB 2805.

Die Mainacht, Op. 43, no. 2. Reverse: Der Nussbaum (Schumann). Marian Anderson, c; Kosti Vehanen, pf. Danish Gramophone DB 2951.

Sandmännchen. Reverse: Horch, horchl die Lerch (Schubert). Elisabeth Schumann, s; George Reeves, pf. English Gramophone DA 1526.

Der Tod, das ist die kühle Nacht, Op. 96, no. 1. Reverse: An die Musik (Schubert). Elisabeth Schumann, s; Gerald Moore, pf. Danish Gramophone DA 1525.

Variations on a theme by Haydn, Op. 56a. New York Philharmonic-Symphony Orch. con. Arturo Toscanini. English Gramophone DB 3031-2.

Variations on an original theme, Op. 21, no. 1. Wilhelm Bachaus, pf. Victor 14227.

Wiegenlied, Op. 49, no. 4. Reverse: Wiegenlied (Mozart). Erna Berger, s; Hans Altmann, pf. U. S. Polydor 47068.

BRASART, JOHANNES (See *L'Anthologie sonore.*)

BRUCKNER, ANTON

Os justi, Motet; Virga Jesse, Motet. Der Dresdner Kreuzchor, con. Rudolf Mauersberger. U. S. Polydor 35034.

Symphony no. 4, E-flat major (Romantic). Saxonian State Orch. con. Karl Böhm. Victor M-331.

BURLEIGH, HARRY T., arr.

Go down, Moses (Let my people go). Reverse: My soul's been anchored in the Lord (Arr. Price). Marian Anderson, c; Kosti Vehanen, pf. Victor 1799.

BUXTEHUDE, DIETRICH (See also *Trois Siècles de musique d'Orgue.*)

Te Deum (First verset); Chorale: Auf meinem lieben Gott. Noëlle Pierront, o. de Brisy 4.

CABANILLES, JUAN (See *Trois Siècles de musique d'Orgue.*)CABÉZON, ANTONIO DE (See *Trois Siècles de musique d'Orgue.*)CACCINI, GIULIO (See *Old Italian Airs and Madrigals.*)CAVALLI, PIETRO FRANCESCO (See *Old Italian Airs and Madrigals.*)

CHERUBINI, LUIGI

Medea: Overture. Milan Sym. Orch. con. Lorenzo Molajoli. Columbia 68779-D.

CHOPIN, FREDERIC

Mazurka, Op. 59, no. 3, F-sharp minor. Reverse: Toccata, Op. 7 (Schumann). Simon Barer, pf. English Gramophone DB 2674.

CLEMENS NON PAPA (See *L'Anthologie sonore.*)CLÉRAMBAULT, LOUIS NICOLAS (See *Trois Siècles de musique d'orgue.*)

COPLAND, AARON

Trio "Vitebsk" (Study on a Jewish theme). Ivor Karmann, vln; David Freed, vlc; Aaron Copland, pf. *Ukulele serenade.* Jacques Gordon, vln; Aaron Copland, pf. Columbia set X-68.

COUPERIN, FRANÇOIS (See *Trois Siècles de musique d'orgue.*)

CROCE, GIOVANNI DALLA

O sacrum convivium. Reverse: Elijah: Hebe deinen Augen auf. Wiener Sängerknaben. con. G. Gruber. Danish Gramophone DV 1045.

DAQUIN, CLAUDE (See *Trois Siècles de musique d'orgue.*)

DEBUSSY, CLAUDE

La Cathédrale engloutie. Walter Gieseking, pf. Columbia 17077-D.

Sonata no. 3, for violin and piano. Reverse: Sonata in D, Op. 1, no. 1: Aria; Chasse; Minuetto (L'Abbé). Alfred Dubois, vln; Marcel Maas, pf. Columbia set X-44.

DELIUS, FREDERICK

Delius Society, Vol. 2: Sea drift. John Brownlee, bar; London Select Choir; London Phil. Orch. con. Sir Thomas Beecham. *Fennimore and Gerda: Intermezzo; Over the hills and far away; In a summer garden.* London Phil. Orch. con. Sir Thomas Beecham. English Columbia.

DUFAY, GUILLAUME (See *L'Anthologie sonore.*)

FALCONIERI, ANDREA (See *Old Italian Airs and Madrigals*.)

FAURÉ, GABRIEL

Nocturne, No. 6, Op. 63. Carmen Guilbert, pf. Pathé PAT 55.

Prelude, Op. 103, no. 5, D minor; *Impromptu* No. 5, F-sharp minor, Op. 102. Reverse: *Cerdana*, No. 5: *Le retour des muletiers* (Sévérac). Robert Casadesu, pf. Columbia 68853-D.

Sonata, violin and piano, No. 1, A major, Op. 13. Jascha Heifetz, vln; Emanuel Bay, pf. Victor set M-328.

FRANCK, CÉSAR

Symphony in D minor; *Panis angelicus* (arr. Stokowski). Philadelphia Symphony Orch. con. Leopold Stokowski. Victor set M-300.

FRESCOBALDI, GIROLAMO (See *Old Italian Airs and Madrigals*, *Old Italian Harpsichord Works*, and *Trois Siècles de musique d'orgue*.)

FROBERGER, JOHANN JAKOB (See *Trois Siècles de musique d'orgue*.)

GABRIELI, ANDREA (See *Old Italian Harpsichord Works* and *Trois Siècles de musique d'orgue*.)

GABRIELI, GIOVANNI (See *L'Anthologie sonore* and *Palestrina*.)

GALUPPI, BALDASSARE (See *Old Italian Harpsichord Works*.)

GERVAISE, CLAUDE

Six Danses de la Renaissance: *Branle de Bourgogne*; *Branle de Poitou*; *Branle de Champagne*; *Gaillarde*; *Branle double*; *Branle gay* (Arr. Rosario Scalero). The Curtis Chamber Music Ensemble. con. Louis Bailly. Victor 1797.

GOMOLKA, NIKOLAUS

Palm 77. Reverse: *Sepulto Domino-Motet* (Gorczycki). Posen Cathedral Choir. Syrena 9471.

GORCZYCKI, GREGOR (See preceding entry.)

GRIEG, EDVARD

Et Haab (Hoffnung), Op. 26, no. 1. Reverse: *Lykken mellem to mennesker* (Alnaes). Kirsten Flagstad, s; Edwin MacArthur, pf. Danish Gramophone DA 1516.

Ich liebe dich, Op. 41, no. 3; *Ein Traum*, Op. 48. Kirsten Flagstad, s; Edwin MacArthur, pf. Victor 1804.

Im Kahne, Op. 60; *Ein Schwan*, Op. 25. Kirsten Flagstad, s; Edwin MacArthur, pf. English Gramophone DA 1513.

Lyse Nat (Lichte Nacht), Op. 70, no. 3; *Der gyngen en Baad paa Bølge (Es schaukelt ein Kahn)*, Op. 69, no. 1. Kirsten Flagstad, s; Edwin MacArthur, pf. Danish Gramophone DA 1515.

GRIFFES, CHARLES T.

Indian sketch, no. 1. Kreiner String Quartet. *The lament of Ian the Proud*. William Hain, t; Jerome T. Bohm, pf. The Friends of Recorded Music 5.

GRIGNY, NICOLAS DE (See *Trois Siècles de musique d'orgue*.)

GROTTE, NICOLAS DE LA (See *L'Anthologie sonore*.)

HANDEL, G. F.

L'Allegro: Siciliana (Let me wander not unseen). Reverse: *Komm, süßer Tod* (Bach). Marian Anderson, c; Kosti Vehanen, pf. Danish Gramophone DA 1529.

Concerti grossi, Op. 6: No. 1, F major; No. 2, F major; No. 3, E minor. The Boyd Neel Orch; Arnold Goldsborough, hpschd. con. Boyd Neel. U. S. Decca 25655-60.

HANFF, J. N. (See *Trois Siècles de musique d'orgue*.)

HAYDN, JOSEPH

Quartet, Op. 76, no. 4, in B major. Prisca Quartet. Decca-Polydor DE 7066-8.

Variations in F minor. Clara Haskill, pf. U. S. Polydor 35035.

IBERT, JACQUES (See *MacDowell*)

KOH

Sketch, Op. 3. *Prelude* (Matsudaira). Reverse: *Traffic sign* (Ota); *Springtime in the hills* (Kiyose). Alexander Tcherepnine, pf. Japanese Victor 53844.

L'ABBÉ, JOSEPH (See *Debussy*)

LANDINO, FRANCESCO (See *Trois Siècles de musique d'orgue*.)

LANTINS, ARNOLD DE (See *L'Anthologie sonore*.)

- LAZZO, ORLANDO DI**
Echoliad. Reverse: *Die Nachtigall* (Mendelssohn). Dresdner Kreuzchor. con. Rudolf Mauersberger. Victor 4326.
- LISZT, FRANZ**
A "Faust" Symphony. Grande Orch. Phil. de Paris. con. Selmar Meyrowitz. Columbia set 272.
- LOEFFLER, CHARLES MARTIN**
Partita for violin and piano; Peacocks. Jacques Gordon, vln; Lee Pattison, pf. Columbia set 275.
- MACDOWELL, EDWARD**
Concerto, piano, no. 2, D minor, Op. 23. Reverse: *Divertissement* (Ibert). Jesus Maria Sanroma, pf; Boston "Pops" Orch. con. Arthur Fiedler. Victor set M-324.
- MACHAULT, GUILLAUME DE** (See *L'Anthologie sonore*.)
- MANZOLI, DOMENICO** (See *L'Anthologie sonore*.)
- MARCELLO, BENEDETTO** (See *Old Italian Airs and Madrigals*.)
- MARCHAND, LOUIS** (See *Trois Siècles de musique d'orgue*.)
- MARTINI, G. B.** (See *Trois Siècles de musique d'orgue*.)
- MASSNET, JULES**
Le Cid: O noble lame étincelante; O Souverain! ô jûge! ô père! Georges Thill, t; orch. con. Eugène Bigot. Columbia 9124-M.
- MENDELSSOHN, FELIX**
Elijah: Hebe deinen Augen auf (Lift thine eyes). Reverse: *O sacrum convivium* (Crocé). Wiener Sängerknaben. con. G. Gruber. Danish Gramophone DV 1045.
Midsummer Night's Dream: Nocturne; Wedding March. London Phil. Orch. con. Sir Thomas Beecham. English Columbia LX 574.
Die Nachtigall, Op. 59, no. 4. Reverse: *Echoliad* (Lasso). Dresdner Kreuzchor. con. Rudolf Mauersberger. Victor 4326.
- MIGOT, GEORGES**
Chanson de Bohême; Le Page; Liliane; O Jardin joli. Marcelle Gerar, s, unacc. French Polydor 516.108.
- MILAN, LUIS** (See also *L'Anthologie sonore*.)
Pavana. Theme and variations (Narbæz). Reverse: *Capricho* (Sanz). Julio Martinez Oyangueren, guitar. Columbia 17076-D.
- MILANUZZI, CARLO** (See *Old Italian Airs and Madrigals*.)
- MOMPOU, FEDERICO**
Cants magics: Energique; Profond-lent; Mystérieuse; Calme. Micheline Kahn, harp. Pathé PAT 49.
- MONTEVERDI, CLAUDIO** (See also *L'Anthologie sonore*.)
Orfeo: Act 3. Recit: Ah! sventuato amante; Act 2. Recit: Lament of Orfeo; Act 4. Air and ritornelli: Qual honor. Yvon le Marc' Hadour, t. Boîte à musique.
- MOZART, W. A.**
Concerto, flute, K.313, G major. Marcel Moyse, fl; orch. con. Eugène Bigot. French Gramophone L 1021-3.
Concerto, piano, K.271, E-flat. Walter Gieseking, pf; orch. con. Hans Rosband. Danish Columbia LX 559-62.
Concerto, 2 pianos, K.365, E-flat. Artur and Karl Ulrich Schnabel, pfs; London Sym. Orch. con. Adrian Boult. English Gramophone DB 3033-5.
Die Entführung aus dem Serail: Act 1. Constanze, Constanze, dich wiederzusehen; Act 2. Wenn der Freude Tränen fliessen. Julius Patzak, t; Berlin State Op. Orch. con. Leo Blech. U. S. Polydor 95056.
Quartet, strings, K.171, E-flat. Kreiner Quartet. The Friends of Recorded Music 3-4.
Quartet, strings, K.428, E-flat. Pro Arte Quartet. Gramophone DB 2820-2.
Quartet, strings, K.589, B-flat. Perolè Quartet. Musicraft 1001-2.
Sonatas, organ and orchestra: K.145, in F major; K.329, in C major. Noëlle Pierront, o; chamber orch. con. Ruggero Gerlin. Pathé PAT 74.
Wiegenlied. Reverse: *Wiegenlied* (Brahms). Erna Berger, s; Hans Altmann, pf. U. S. Polydor 35033.
- NARBÆZ, L. DE** (See *Milan*.)
- NIELSEN, CARL**
Aladdin: Incidental music. Tivoli Concert Hall Orch. con. S. C. Felumb. Reverse: *Maskarade: Prelude to act 2*. Royal Orchestra. Danish Gramophone X 4676, Z 321-2.

Humoreske-Bagateller, Op. 11: Goddag; Snurrestoppen; En lille langsom Vals; Spraellemanden; Dukkemarch; Spillevaerket. Galina Werschenskaya, pf. Danish Gramophone DA 5203.

Maskerade: Overture; Hanedans. Royal Orchestra. con. Johan Hye-Knudsen. Danish Gramophone Z 230.

Quintet, brass instruments, Op. 43: Taagen letter: Andantino quasi allegretto. Brass Quintet of the Royal Orch. Danish Gramophone DB 5200-3.

Sonata, violin and piano, A major. Emil Telmányi, vln; Chr. Christiansen, pf. Danish Gramophone DB 2732-4.

OBRECHT, JACOB (See *L'Anthologie sonore.*)

OLD ITALIAN AIRS AND MADRIGALS

Peri: *Euridice: Gioite al canto mio; Belissima regina.*

Caccini: *Amarilli, mia bella; Fere selvagge.*

Frescobaldi: *La mia pallida faccia; Non mi negate, ohimè.*

Rasi: *Filli mia dolce; Occhi sempre sereni; Filli, tu vuoi, partite.*

Falconiere: *Cara e la rosa; Bella fanciulla; Begli occhi lucenti.*

Milanzuzzi: *Fedele amante; Aria Siciliana; Ardo ma rivelar; La notte sorge.*

Cavalli: *Serse: Beata chi può.*

Marcello: *Discioglietevi in pianto; Perchè mai non m'uccise.*

Salvatore Salvati, t; Giuseppe Flaminio, bass; hpschd. *Musiche Italiane Antiche 1-4.*

OLD ITALIAN HARPSICHORD WORKS

Gabrieli, A.: *Pass' e mezzo antico variato in 5 modi; Anon: Sei pass' e mezzi.*

Frescobaldi: *Aria detta La Frescobaldi; Quattro gagliarde.*

Galuppi: *Sonata in A major.*

Serini: *Sonata in B-flat major.*

Anna Linde, hpschd. *Musiche Italiane Antiche 5-8.*

ORITZ, DIEGO (See *L'Anthologie sonore.*)

PACHELBEL, JOHANN (See *Trois Siècles de musique d'orgue.*)

PALESTRINA, GIOVANNI PIERLUIGI DA (See also *Trois Siècles de musique d'orgue.*)

Sicut cervus desiderat. Reverse: *Benedictus* (G. Gabrieli). Palestrina Koret. con. Mogens Wöldike. Danish Gramophone Z 187.

Stabat Mater. Posen Cathedral Choir. con. W. Gieburowskiego. Syrena 9473-4.

PERI, JACOBO (See *Old Italian Airs and Madrigals.*)

PIERNÉ, GABRIEL

Concertstück, Op. 39. Lily Laskine, h; orch. French Gramophone K 7621-2.

Impromptu, Op. 9. Reverse: *Variations pastorales* (M. S. Rousseau) Mildred Dilling, h. Columbia 68852-D.

PUCCINI, GIACOMO

La Bohème: Act 4, complete. Lisa Perli; Stella Andreva; Heddle Nash; John Brownlee; Robert Alva; Robert Eaton; London Phil. Orch. con. Sir Thomas Beecham. Columbia set 274.

PURCELL, HENRY (See also *Trois Siècles de musique d'orgue.*)

Dido and Aeneas: When I am laid in earth. Reverse: *Sicilian Cart-driver's Song* (Art. Sadero). Blanche Marchesi, s; Agnes Bedford, pf. International Record Collectors' Club 89.

RAMEAU, J. P. (See also *L'Anthologie sonore.*)

La Poule; Le Rappel des oiseaux. Paul Brunold, Watters harpsichord, 1737. U. S. Polydor 35036.

RASI, FRANCESCO (See *Old Italian Airs and Madrigals.*)

REGER, MAX

Quartet, strings, Op. 109, E-flat. Strub String Quartet. German Gramophone EH 971-2.

ROSSINI, GIOACCHINO

L'Italiana in Algeri: Overture. Philharmonic-Symphony Orch., New York. con. Arturo Toscanini. Victor 14161.

ROUSSEL, ALBERT

Symphony No. 3, G minor, Op. 42. Lamoureux Orch. con. Albert Wolff. U. S. Polydor set BP-3.

RUE, PIERRE DE LA (See *L'Anthologie sonore.*)

RUSSIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH MUSIC

Cantique de Saint Scine; Psalme 141; Le tropaire de la croix; Hymne à Marie; Tropaire et canon de Pâques; Matines de Pâques; Chant de pénitence; Chant de juge-

ment dernier. Choeur de L'Institut de Théologie Orthodoxe Russe de Paris; Ivan. Denissov, t. Boîte à Musique 7-8.

SAINT-SAËNS, CAMILLE

Danse macabre, Op. 40. Philadelphia Sym. Orch. con. Leopold Stokowski. Victor 14162.

Samson et Dalila: Chanson de la meule. Georges Thill, t; ch; orch. con. Philippe Gaubert. Columbia 9121-M.

SANCTA MARIA, THOMAS DE (See *Trois Siècles de musique d'orgue.*)

SANZ, G. (See *Milan.*)

SCARLATTI, ALESSANDRO (See *L'Anthologie sonore.*)

SCHUBERT, FRANZ

An die Musik, Op. 88, no. 4. Reverse: *Der Tod, das ist die kühle Nacht* (Brahms). Elisabeth Schumann, s; Gerald Moore, pf. Danish Gramophone DA 1525.

Ave Maria; Aufenthalt. Marian Anderson, c; Kosti Vehanen, pf. Danish Gramophone DA 3025.

Des Fischers Liebesglück; Nacht und Träume, Op. 43, no. 2. Karl Erb, t; Bruno Seidler-Winkler, pf. German Gramophone EG 3611.

Gretchen am Spinnrade, Op. 2; Fischerweise, Op. 96, no. 4. Elisabeth Schumann, s; Gerald Moore, pf. English Gramophone DA 1547.

Horch, horch! die Lerch. Reverse: *Sandmännchen* (Brahms). Elisabeth Schumann, s; George Reeves, pf. English Gramophone DA 1526.

Symphony no. 8, B minor (Unfinished). Vienna Philharmonic Orch. con. Bruno Walter. English Gramophone DB 2937-9.

SCHUETZ, HEINRICH (See *L'Anthologie sonore.*)

SCHUMANN, ROBERT

Dichterliebe, Op. 48. Gerhard Hüsch, bar; Hans Udo Müller, pf. English Gramophone DB 2940-2.

Mondnacht, Op. 39, no. 5. Reverse: *Traum durch die Dämmerung; Ich schwebe* (Strauss). Elisabeth Schumann, s; Karl Alwin, pf. Victor 14076.

Der Nussbaum, Op. 25, no. 3. Reverse: *Die Mainacht* (Brahms). Marian Anderson,

c; Kosti Vehanen, pf. Danish Gramophone DB 2951.

Quartet, strings, Op. 41, no. 3, A major. Lener Quartet. English Columbia LX 566-9.

Toccata, Op. 7. Reverse: *Mazurka, Op. 59, no. 3, F-sharp minor* (Chopin). Simon Barer, pf. English Gramophone DB 2674.

SERINI, BATTISTA (See *Old Italian Harpsichord Works.*)

SÉVÉRAC, DÉODAT DE

Cerdaña: No. 5, Le retour des muletiers. Reverse: *Prelude, Op. 103, no. 5; Impromptu, Op. 102* (Fauré) Robert Casadesu, pf. Columbia 68853-D.

SIBELIUS, JEAN

Slanda (The Dragon-fly), Op. 17, no. 5; Aus banger Brust, Op. 50, no. 4. Eva Leoni, s; Jacques Pintel, pf. Columbia 9123-M.

STEFFANI, AGOSTINO (See *L'Anthologie sonore.*)

STRAUSS, RICHARD

Ariadne auf Naxos: Rezitativ und Arie der Zerbinetta (Grossmächtigste Prinzessin). Adele Kern, s; Berlin State Op. Orch. con. Alois Melichar. U. S. Polydor 95051.

Morgen! Op. 27, no. 4; Traum durch die Dämmerung, Op. 29, no. 1. Enid Szantho, c; orch. con. Alexander Smallens. Victor 1795.

Olympic Hymn. Reverse: *Olympia-Fanfare, 1936* (Winter); *Olympic Hymn* (Egk). Olympia-Fanfaren, Berliner Soloisten. con. Bruno Seidler-Winkler. Danish Gramophone EH 982.

Olympic Hymn. Bruno Kittel Choir; Berlin State Opera Orch. English Parlophone RO 20322.

Der Rosenkavalier: Act 3, Trio (Hab' mir's gelobt); Act 3, Duet (Ist ein Traum). Tiana Lemnitz, s; Viorica Ursuleac, s; Erna Berger, s; Berlin State Opera Orch. con. Clemens Krauss. U. S. Polydor 95033.

Traum durch die Dämmerung; Ich schwebe. Reverse: *Mondnacht* (Schumann). Elisabeth Schumann, s; Karl Alwin, pf. Victor 14076.

STRAVINSKY, IGOR

Concerto, violin, D major. Samuel Dushkin, vln; Lamoureux Orch. con. Igor Stravinsky. U. S. Polydor set BP-1.

Pastorale. Samuel Dushkin, vln; Gromer, ob; Durand, Eng. hn; Vacellier, clar; Grand-maison, bsn. *Petrouchka*: Danse russe. Dushkin, vln; Stravinsky, pf. Columbia 17075-D.

SULLIVAN, SIR ARTHUR
The Mikado (complete). D'Oyly Carte Opera Co. Victor set C-26.

SZAMOTULSKI, WACLAV
Ego sum pastor bonus (Motet). Reverse: *Viderunt omnes fines terrae* (Motet) (Zielenski). Posen Cathedral Choir. Syrena 9470.

TANSMAN, ALEXANDER
Charm; Shiratsuyuni; Sabishisani. Ayako Ogino, s; Alexander Tansman, pf. Japanese Victor 13290.

TCHAIKOVSKY, PETER ILITCH
Symphony No. 4, F minor, Op. 36; Serenade, strings, Op. 48; Valse. Boston Symphony Orch. con. Serge Koussevitzky. Victor set M-327.

Symphony No. 6, B minor, Op. 74 (Pathétique). Paris Conservatory Orch. con. Philippe Gaubert. Columbia set 277.

TELEMANN, GEORG PHILIPP (See *L'Anthologie sonore*.)

TROIS SIÈCLES DE MUSIQUE D'ORGUE
Les Jeux de l'orgue (Introductory remarks by André Marchal). Pathé PAT 62.

Landino: *Questa fanciulla*. Palestrina: *Ricercare*. André Marchal, o. Andrea Gabrieli: *Canzona*. Charles Hens, o. PAT 63.

Frescobaldi: *Toccata per l'elevazione*. Martini: *Aria con variazioni*. Joseph Bonnet, o. PAT 64.

Cabanilles: *Passacaglia, D minor*. Friedrich Mihatsch, o. Cabézon: *Tiento in the First Tone*. Sancta Maria: *Harmonisation of a melody*. André Marchal, o. PAT 65.

Purcell: *Trumpet tune and Ayre*. Bach: *Choral prelude, Christ lag in Todesbanden*. Charles Hens, o. PAT 66.

Grigny: *Récit de tierce en taille*. Anon.: *Trois versets du Te Deum*. Marchand: *Fond de l'orgue, E minor*. Joseph Bonnet, o. PAT 67.

Couperin: *Récit de Cromorne*. Clérambault: *Dialogue sur les grands jeux*. Daquin: *Noël sur les flûtes*. Joseph Bonnet, o. PAT 68.

Hanff: *Ach Gott vom Himmel sieh darein*. Charles Hens, o. Froberger: *Toccata, F major*. Friedrich Mihatsch, o. PAT 69.

Buxtehude: *Choral fantasy, Ich danke dir, lieber Gott*. Pachelbel: *Toccata, C major; Choral, Durch Adams Fall*. Friedrich Mihatsch, o. PAT 70.

Bach: *Toccata, Adagio and Fugue, C major; Choral, Nun freut euch, lieben Christen g'mein*. André Marchal, o. PAT 71-2.

Bach: *Choral preludes: Liebster Jesu, wir sind hier; Christ unser Herr*. Friedrich Mihatsch, o. PAT 73.

TURINA, JOAQUIN
Rapsodia sinfónica. Eileen Joyce, pf.; orch. con. Clarence Raybould. Decca 25452.

VERDI, GIUSEPPE
Un Ballo in Maschera: Ma dall' arido stelo; Morro', ma prima in grazia Gina Cigna, s; orch. Columbia 9122-M.

Macbeth: Sleep-walking Scene; Don Carlos: Eboli's Aria (O don fatale). Gertrude Ruenger, s; orch. U. S. Polydor 95052.

Quartet, strings, E minor. Prisca Quartet. U. S. Polydor set BP-5.

Rigoletto (complete). Riccardo Stracciari, Mercedes Capisir, Dino Borgioli, Mannarini, etc.; Ch; orch. of La Scala, Milan. con. Lorenzo Molajoli. Columbia Operatic set 18.

VILLA-LOBOS, HECTOR
Choros No. 7. Brazilian Victor Orch. Victor 11214.

VIVALDI, ANTONIO (See *L'Anthologie sonore*.)

WAGNER, RICHARD
Lohengrin: Elsas Traum; Tannhäuser: Dich, teure Halle. Kirsten Flagstad, s; orch. con. Hans Lange. Victor 14181.

Die Meistersinger: Overture. London Philharmonic Orch. con. Sir Thomas Beecham. Columbia 68854-D.

WALTON, WILLIAM
Portsmouth Point, Overture. The B. B. C. Sym. Orch. con. Adrian Boult. English Gramophone DA 1540.

WEBER, CARL MARIA VON

Aufforderung zum Tanze, Op. 65. Ignaz Friedman, pf. English Columbia DX 764.

Der Freischütz: Overture; Intermezzo, Act 3. Berlin Phil. Orch. con. Wilhelm Furtwängler. U. S. Polydor 95030-1.

Der Freischütz: Wie nahte mir der Schlummer; Und ob die Wolke sie verhülle.

Tiana Lemnitz, s; Berlin State Op. Orch. con. Leo Blech. U. S. Polydor 95032.

ZADOR, EUGEN

Hungarian Caprice. Minneapolis Sym. Orch. con. Eugene Ormandy. Ray Fitch, tarogato solo. Victor 14031.

ZIELENSKI, NIKOLAUS (See Szamotulski.)

ZIPOLI, DOMENICO (See *L'Anthologie sonore.*)

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